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THE ORIGINS OF HIMALAYAN STUDIES

Brian Houghton Hodgson in Nepal and Darjeeling 1820–1858

edited by David M. Waterhouse

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Brian Houghton Hodgson was a nineteenth-century administrator and scholar who lived in Nepal, where he was the British Resident from 1820 until 1843. After this he worked as an independent scholar in Darjeeling until 1858. During his time in the Himalayas Hodgson, with extraordinary dedication, laid the foundations for the study of the eastern Himalayan region, writing about many aspects of life and culture. He was among the first westerners to take an interest in Buddhism, both writing about it and collecting manuscripts. He is perhaps best known for his work as an ornithologist and zoologist, writing around 130 papers and commissioning from Nepalese artists a unique series of drawings of birds and mammals. He also wrote about and recorded details of the buildings and architecture of the Kathmandu valley and wrote a series of ethnographic and linguistic papers on Nepal and the Himalayan region. Hodgson donated his collection of writings, specimens and drawings to libraries and museums in Europe, much of which still needs detailed examination.

This book critically examines Hodgson's life and achievement, within the context of his contribution to scholarship. It consists of contributions from leading historians of Nepal and South Asia and from specialists in Buddhist studies, art history, linguistics, zoology and ethnography. Many of the drawings photographed for this book have not previously been published.

David M. Waterhouse is a Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was British Council Director in Nepal from 1972 to 1977.

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FOREWORD

Thomas R. Trautmann

Brian Houghton Hodgson's life (1801–1894) nearly filled the nineteenth century. His official life as a civil servant of the East India Company, rising to the position of Resident to the Kingdom of Nepal, gives him a place of importance in the history of Nepal and of British India. His scientific collections and scholarly writings give him a significance in the world of learning for which he was abundantly recognized in his own long life, yet is but dimly remembered now. A sense that we need a new assessment of the significance of Hodgson's life and work inspired David Waterhouse to bring a group of scholars of various disciplines together for a conference in the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University in the summer of 2002, just over two centuries since Hodgson's birth. The result is this book. It is intended to open up discussion of Hodgson, not to end it, to invite others to take the examination farther, not to deliver a definitive judgement – which in any case is not yet possible, given that the cataloguing of his manuscripts at the British Library is still going on.

David Waterhouse gives a reading of Hodgson's life in Chapter 1. Here I should like to characterize the works, taken in large, and seen as a whole. Approaching the work through the life, it is my sense that the exceptional scholarly accomplishments of Brian Houghton Hodgson came about through a series of misfortunes that somehow turned out to be very beneficial, or perhaps we should say, that he managed somehow to turn to the benefit of his scholarship.[1]

There was, first, the failure of the bank in which his father had invested the family fortune. This calamity required that he and his brothers enter the service of the East India Company, through which he provided for himself and contributed to the support of his family. Service in the Company also provided him the means and the opportunity for his scholarly accomplishments.

Second, there was the failure of his health at Calcutta not long after his arrival, owing to a liver complaint. On doctor's orders he escaped the plains for a posting in the Himalayas, first at Kumaon and then at Nepal, and to the Himalayas he returned after retiring from the service, at Darjeeling. Thus a turn of bad health directed him to the Himalayas, the object of his life's work. Fortunately the liver complaint did not kill him, and he lived to a ripe old age.

Third, during his years in Nepal as Assistant Resident, Acting Resident and Resident, his movements were narrowly restricted by the Nepal government, which resented British power and was suspicious of British intentions. Confined to the Kathmandu valley and having very little European companionship, the residency of Nepal imposed on him a life of indolence under conditions of opulence. These circumstances were immensely conducive to his scholarly pursuits.

Fourth, after twenty years in Nepal and with a growing reputation in scholarship, he had the good misfortune, so to say, to have been forced out of office by a Governor-General unsympathetic to his style, at a time when his pension was nearly paid up, his debts cleared and his savings substantial. After he resigned the Service he was barred from Nepal by the British–Indian government, so he settled in his third Himalayan location, Darjeeling, for a long spell in a comfortable hermitage for a life of uninterrupted collecting and writing. While he had been resident of Nepal the high salary of a British–Indian civilian had allowed him to maintain a dozen Nepali assistants for a year on one month of his pay, for collecting and drawing specimens, and many other tasks. After retirement, at Darjeeling, he was able to maintain two dozen servants. A large complement of assistants and the collaboration of local scholars such as the learned Amritananda enabled his prodigious scholarly output and put many skills at his disposal. Large personal establishments of this kind, often maintained out of pocket, were a normal condition of Orientalist scholarship in British India, and Hodgson's was unusual perhaps only in scale.

These were the fortunate misfortunes by which Hodgson acquired the object of his life's work and the means to pursue it. But of course the circumstances did not produce the scholar. An aptitude and a taste for the life of the mind combined in him with a love of the outdoor life and riding to hounds, a combination well suited for the kind of scholarly life British India and a residency in the kingdom of Nepal made possible. His education was perhaps not as good as he might have gained had he attended Edinburgh, Oxford or Cambridge; but it would be a mistake to underestimate the quality of the education he acquired during his two years at the East India College at Haileybury, and the one year at the 'University of the East', the College of Fort William at Calcutta. As Farrington notes, the East India College attracted 'a distinguished staff by offering high salaries and university-type status'; six of the initial appointees produced thirty-seven books among them during their careers there.[2] The most famous of these was the economist and demographer Thomas Malthus, a family friend who became a mentor to Hodgson and with whom Hodgson lodged. In Calcutta at the College of Fort William the professoriate linked in its various functions the College, the Asiatic Society and the Government, forming the triangular power of Orientalist policy (which Charles Trevelyan and T.B. Macauley would effectively attack in the 1830s). It included many who were at the forefront of the new Orientalist knowledge-production, on whom Hodgson could model himself. He passed out of Haileybury at the very top of his class, having, in various terms, gained

prizes in Bengali, Classics and Political Economy. A year in the College of Fort William consolidated his Persian and introduced him to Sanskrit, but he was wasted by fever and 'liver disease', and he hastened to his first appointment in the hills. It was, on the whole, a brief but good education for an agile and eager mind.

This mind, thus educated, combined with those life-chances in such a way as to produce a body of work which is immensely large and variegated – so much so as to require a whole team, such as the one that has gathered together to make this book, to survey and evaluate it.

The sheer abundance of Hodgson's scholarly output is the first difficulty with which the task of assessment has to cope. The thousands of manuscripts in Sanskrit and other languages of South Asia, the more than 10,000 zoological specimens, the thousands of drawings of birds, quadrupeds, fish and works of Nepali Buddhist architecture, the hundreds of published articles and books, the dozens and dozens of letters and unpublished notes and drafts – this mass of manuscripts, specimens, publications and notes is truly stupendous. For example, according to Ann Datta and Carol Inskipp (Chapter 6), the British Museum was unable to cope with the superabundance of specimens donated by Hodgson, and many of them became spoiled by vermin before they were first opened for examination. The huge collection of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, by contrast, were quickly turned to account when they found their first interpreter in the brilliant pioneer Buddhologist Eugène Burnouf at Paris (Lopez, Chapter 4); while many other collections have yet to be put to use, such as the Buddhist architectural drawings (Losty, Chapter 5), or even to be catalogued, such as the large holdings of manuscripts in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library.

The second difficulty of assessing Hodgson's work is that the organization of knowledge in our own day is very different from the one in which Hodgson worked, and this difference makes us see his work in an alien light. Since Hodgson's time the pursuit of learning has been divided up into disciplines, so that as we look back upon what he has accomplished, we do so from various different partial perspectives. The evaluation of that accomplishment requires the combined and coordinated effort of specialists in different fields. Hodgson's scientific work, both the collections and the publications, was distributed across three main fields, namely Buddhology (texts and architecture), what we might call linguistic ethnology, and natural history (especially, but not only, ornithology). There was, as well, the collection of materials for a history of Nepal which, however, he did not finish, and there were also a few other subtopics, including the physical geography of the Himalayas and the working of Hindu law in Nepal. These topics are examined individually in the pages to come, by specialists in the fields they now fall under. Here it may be useful to try to reassemble the Hodgson who we will be dissecting into many fragmentary Hodgsons, and consider him as an indivisible whole, asking what is the logic, so foreign to the way we work now, that combined these parts in one person at that historical moment.

What, then, was the unity of Hodgson's sprawling, diffuse-seeming project? The first thing to be said about the elusive unity of Hodgson's scholarly collecting and writing is that, while it is widely distributed across natural science and historical, linguistic and ethnological topics, all of them fall within the purview of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It was in the publications of the Asiatic Society, indeed, that many of Hodgson's writings appeared: the *Asiatic Researches*, the *Gleanings in Science* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The scope of the Asiatic Society, founded by Sir William Jones in 1784 on the model of the Royal Academy, but directed at Asian and especially Indian topics, was defined as 'MAN and NATURE; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other', i.e. virtually everything.[3] Jones himself was a polymath who wrote upon a great many topics in addition to the history and linguistics of Asia for which he is well known, including music, chess, astronomy, botany and the natural history of the pangolin.[4] The mutual unintelligibility of the languages of the sciences and the humanities was only just beginning in Hodgson's day. We must suppose that in his brief time as a student in Calcutta the glamour of the Asiatic Society and the idea that the many branches of scientific inquiry formed a unitary project came to him by osmosis through the thin membrane separating the College from the Society.

That said, Hodgson's work did not address the whole of the performances of man and the productions of nature, but of a subset whose coherence we seek to identify. We will grasp its logic if we map the distribution of his interests, and are attentive as much to what he did *not* do as to what he did. In a word, Hodgson's natural-history collecting and writing addressed the *hills* and not the plains of British India and its neighbours; his linguistic ethnology addressed the *non-Aryan* languages (or as we would say today the non-Indo-European ones) as distinct from the Aryan (or Indo-European) languages of South Asia; and his studies in religion addressed *Buddhism* and largely left the study of Hinduism to others. Collecting terms, we see that while the scholarship of Jones and his first-phase followers at the Asiatic Society had been elucidating the natural history of the Indian plains, the Indo-European languages spoken there and the history and character of Hinduism – explorations in the near vicinity of Calcutta, so to say – Hodgson made a career of discovery in the terrains of investigation that had been left largely unexplored in the opening decades of the Asiatic Society, territory at a distance from Calcutta, the hub of British–Indian scholarly endeavour, and on the periphery of its original projects. Hodgson turned his peripheral location vis-à-vis the capital of British–Indian scholarship to huge advantage. Let us examine the three linked terms of his project, the natural history of the plains, the analysis of non-Aryan languages, and the study of Buddhism, more closely.

In respect of natural history, the Himalayas, its structure and its fauna, were virtually unknown to Europeans and provided Hodgson with unlimited possibilities for the production of new knowledge. This unknown-ness, of course, was relative, not absolute. Hodgson's investigations of Nepali fauna were preceded by those of Kirkpatrick (1793), Hamilton (1802–1803) and

Hardwicke (publishing in the 1820s), as we learn from Datta and Inskipp in Chapter 6. Both the Himalayan fauna, and the Himalayas itself, then, were unknown or little-known in the way that a blank spot on the map tells us the location of a place that needs filling in, that, indeed, because it is a blank spot in an otherwise figured field, *begs* to be filled in, we might almost say. The existence of the Himalayas had been known to Europeans since the times of the ancient Greeks, but it was a known unknown, and Hodgson went, knowing there was knowledge to be found, blanks in the Linnean map of species to be filled, the structure of the Himalayas itself to be laid bare. He did so, then, not as someone who stumbled upon something unexpected, but with expectations shaped by his intellectual formation, including geographical and Linnean, classificatory ones. And he did so with the support and encouragement of the Asiatic Society. Thus, being far from Calcutta was an advantage that Calcutta itself recognized and encouraged Hodgson to exploit.

Hodgson's linguistic ethnology shows the pattern of seeking out the hitherto blank places in the intellectual map very well. Martin Gaenszle (Chapter 10) distinguishes Hodgson's earlier linguistic work as close-grained ethnography, which he praises as enduring contributions, and his later work as large, comparative studies that have not survived the test of time. The two phases are nevertheless alike in that both follow a common method, which is the method of comparative vocabulary, and both are directed not toward the (Indo-European) Nepali language of the elite of Nepal, even though he knew it well, but to the 'non-Aryan' languages. Hodgson, then, made a deliberate choice, seeking out the undescribed, often unwritten non-Indo-European languages of Nepal for close description within a framework of comparative study. Hodgson's later work tried to make connections with the 'Tamulian' or, as we would say, Dravidian languages of South India, and the Munda languages of Central India, and combined the whole under Max Müller's superfamily of 'Turanian' languages. As I have shown elsewhere, Hodgson here joins hands with the pioneering work of others at a distance from Calcutta, namely the early demonstration of the Dravidian language family by F.W. Ellis at Madras, and, in Bombay, that of John Stevenson on the Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic elements in Marathi and other Indo-European languages of India.[5] Ellis' brilliant Dravidian proof had been published in 1816, the year in which Franz Bopp, through his study of the comparative grammar of Indo-European languages, was laying the foundations of comparative philology in Europe. In the forty-year period between Ellis (1816) and Robert Caldwell (1854), the leading explorations of the language history of South Asia were those of Hodgson and Stevenson. Both of them were exploring the non-Indo-European element in India's linguistic makeup – the linguistic substratum, as the linguists call it, which, many years before, Jones had already detected in Hindi – and were testing the hypothesis that the substratum languages belonged to a single family. The hypothesis of the unity of the aboriginal languages and inhabitants of India did not survive subsequent examination, and it was Caldwell's accomplishment (I have argued) to have consolidated the view that

there are two language families, Dravidian and Munda, not one, that precede Indo-European in South Asia. In this respect Hodgson's later work on linguistic ethnology plays an important role in having explored a possibility that, in the end, is disproved, and whose disproof leads to a long-lasting scientific consensus about India's linguistic composition. That and the continuing usefulness of the early linguistic ethnography do not exhaust the significance of Hodgson's linguistic ethnology, however, because he also contributed to the emergence of the concept of the Sino-Tibetan language family, as readers will find in George van Driem's contribution to this volume (Chapter 11).

Finally, it was in the recovery of Indian Buddhism that, in some ways, Hodgson made his greatest contribution, both in his own writings and especially through his supplying rare and invaluable materials for the brilliant work of Eugène Burnouf. The modern understanding of India's deep history had begun with the unexpected and hugely consequential discovery of the relationship of Sanskrit to Latin and Greek, the discovery of the Indo-European language family leading, as it did, to the development of comparative philology. Jones, whose famous announcement of the Indo-European conception was delivered before the Asiatic Society in 1786, also drew from that linkage the idea that Hinduism was a living sibling of ancient Greek and Roman paganism, and paid it close attention. Buddhism, virtually extinct in the plains of India but vastly important in its ancient past, was then scarcely known to Europeans. The history of Buddhism was recovered from Nepal by Hodgson and Burnouf (starting in 1824), from Sri Lanka by Tourner (1836) and the decipherment of the Ashokan inscriptions by H.T. Prinsep and his team at Calcutta (1837–1838), epoch-making work no less important than that of Jones.[6] Here again, as in his linguistic ethnology, Hodgson seems to have been guided by an inner plan to concentrate on Buddhism exactly because it was little known to Europeans, and largely to ignore Hinduism, however important the latter was to the ruling elite of Nepal with whom he had to treat in his official capacity. He did, it is true, write papers on Hindu law as it functioned in Nepal, but the motivation had largely to do with the promotion of British–Indian trade with Nepal, specifically the legal security of Indian merchants' property while trading in Nepal. These writings were received as valuable descriptions of how Hindu law worked in practice untouched by European colonialism.[7] Once more Nepal served as the living embodiment of civilizational practices which had not survived in the plains of India.

Thus Hodgson turned to advantage his double displacement from the centre of metropolitan science, from Europe to British India, and from the British–Indian capital, Calcutta, to its northern frontier (Kumaon, Darjeeling) and beyond (Nepal). The advantage he seized was both that it was an unknown terrain containing 'new' species awaiting collection, description and classification, and that it offered to illuminate the dimly-lit regions of the history of Indian civilization.

That Hodgson's life in scholarship is inseparable from his official life as a colonial official goes without saying. There is truly no way of drawing a line

between the two that is hard and fast, and his scholarship was in every way dependent on the circumstances into which he was placed by his responsibilities as a civil servant under the Company. At the same time the scholarship is not wholly reducible to the ends and means of empire, and its significance has outlived the conditions of its making. It was an odd, large and in many ways magnificent accomplishment, lost from view even as its effects continue to be felt by us, his often unwitting heirs, today.

Notes

1 Biographical information in this foreword comes from David Waterhouse and other contributors to this volume, and W.W. Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, 1896 (reprint, New Delhi and Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1991).

2 Anthony Farrington, *The Records of the East India College, Haileybury*, London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1976, p. 8.

3 Sir William Jones, the 'preliminary discourse' before the Asiatic Society ('A discourse on the institution of a society, for inquiry into the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia', *Asiat. Res.* 1788 1 (ix–xvi), pp. xii–xiii).

4 For a collective assessment of a polymath parallel to this volume, see *Sir William Jones 1746–94, a Commemoration*, (ed.) Alexander Murray, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

5 Thomas R. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India,* Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1997, ch. 5.

6 Donald Lopez, this volume: O.P. Kejariwal, *The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Discovery of India's past, 1784–1835*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988.

7 Hunter, *Life*, pp. 115–125, discusses Hodgson's work on Hindu law in considerable detail.

PREFACE

I first came across the works of Brian Hodgson when I was living in Nepal some twenty-five years ago. It was evident that here was an extraordinary story, little known to the world at large. At the time I wanted to find out more but the constraints of a peripatetic career made it difficult to take matters further. The opportunity only arose after my retirement when I came across the set of drawings of buildings of the Kathmandu valley, now in the Royal Asiatic Society. These were commissioned by Hodgson and drawn by the Nepali artists and draughtsmen who worked for him. Further investigation uncovered four boxes of Hodgson's letters and papers which came to the Society after his death. This material has never been published. More enquiries made me aware of the large quantity of specimens, drawings, manuscripts, reports and letters that Hodgson collected and which is now in the British Library and various museums. It was also true that, apart from the valuable book on Hodgson as an ornithologist by Carol Inskipp and Mark Cocker, virtually nothing had been written on him since the biography by W.W. Hunter published soon after his death. It seemed clear that there was a need to look again at Hodgson's life and work, but it took a lot of encouragement from the Council members and staff of the Royal Asiatic Society to persuade me to take things further. I am very grateful to them for doing this and for stimulating my interest in taking on what was to become a major project.

Brian Hodgson's achievements are known today mostly by those with a specialist interest in Nepal. That they are not more widely recognized is probably due to his failure to publish either of the major works which he had authored – one on the history of Nepal and the other on its birds and mammals. But his talents were outstanding and deserve better recognition. Considering that his academic background was very limited, Hodgson's achievements were formidable. His love was the hills, the people who lived in them, their cultures and languages and the natural history of the Himalayan region. Before Hodgson's time very little was known to westerners about the area beyond the northern boundaries of Eastern India. Pioneers such as Kirkpatrick and Buchanan-Hamilton, both early visitors to Nepal, had written up their very limited experiences, and Csoma de Körös, with whom Hodgson had some contact, was deep into his study of Tibet. Enthusiasts in Calcutta, working

under the aegis of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, had begun work on the area around them, which touched on the Himalayan region. Hodgson took advantage, brilliantly, of the opportunities offered to him.

Hodgson was, of course, born into an age of amateur scholarship which became superseded as the nineteenth century progressed. By birth and training he was more of an Orientalist than a Victorian. His lack of formal training, coupled with his virtual isolation until he returned to England in 1858, is at the root of his many disagreements with the established academic and museum world. Had he been born earlier or later his story would have been different but he would not have had the opportunity of being in the right place at the right time.

When planning the book it became clear that the only approach which made sense was to persuade scholars working in the various areas in which Hodgson was active to contribute to an up-to-date assessment of his life and work. Happily the various invitations sent out were enthusiastically taken up and the result is the first overall look at Hodgson's life and contribution to scholarship since Hunter's biography of 1896. A full biography would have been preferable but the main interest in Hodgson today is not so much in his life, interesting as it was, but in what he left behind in terms of his writings and his collections. He is perhaps best remembered as an ornithologist but the book demonstrates the range of his other interests. There are some of these that merit fuller coverage (his contribution to the debate on vernacular education is an example) but lack of space means that this book focuses on the major contributions. I hope that it will be seen as a useful addition to scholarship and that it will encourage further studies of the life and work of this fascinating and enigmatic man.

David Waterhouse

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David Waterhouse

ABBREVIATIONS AND TECHNICAL NOTE

Asiat. Res.	*Asiatick Researches* (1800–1822), thereafter *Asiatic Researches*
BL	British Library
EJS	*Edinburgh Journal of Science*
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
Madras J. Lit. & Sci.	*Madras Journal of Literature & Science*
NHM	Natural History Museum, London
OIOC	Oriental and India Office Collections, The British Library
Proc. Zool. Soc. London	*Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*
RAS	Royal Asiatic Society, London
RBG	Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew
Trans. Linn. Soc. London	*Transactions of the Linnean Society of London*
TRAS	*Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*

The difficulty over the spelling of Nepali, Newari or Indian names has been resolved by keeping to the spellings originally used wherever possible. Thus you will find Nipal, Nepal and Nepaul all used at some stage in the book. In a very few cases spelling has been standardized for consistency. An example is 'Rajman Singh'. I am very grateful to Dr Ramesh Dhungel for checking the spelling of Nepali and Newari names and phrases for me.

Another issue is the use of diacritics. In this case, each contributor to this book has followed the convention of his or her discipline in the rendering of Sanskrit, Nepali and Newari terms.

1

BRIAN HODGSON – A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

David Waterhouse

Early days

Brian Houghton Hodgson came from a well-connected but impoverished family. His grandfather owned estates in Derbyshire but his father, also called Brian Hodgson, lost his money in a banking venture in Macclesfield and spent the rest of his life in a number of minor posts. Among the relations in the family were the Bishop of London and the Dean of Carlisle. Brian was the second of seven children, three boys and four girls. The three boys all saw service in India but Hodgson's two brothers died young. The two sisters with whom he had regular contact were Ellen and Fanny – both of whom married Dutch noblemen. The family background is important for, without connections, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for Hodgson to obtain a place at Haileybury. Family links gave him introductions and opportunities which he took advantage of in his career.

There is some uncertainty over Hodgson's date of birth. This is given as 1 February 1800 in W.W. Hunter and all subsequent references – however, Hodgson himself, writing his biographical memoir in 1868, gives 1801 as his birth date.[1] This date was also given by Susan Hodgson, his second wife, writing her account of the family history towards the end of his life. As he was christened on 28 November 1801 in Macclesfield this suggests that the later date is more likely. The date of his entry to Haileybury is also significant. Hodgson records that he was granted a special licence to enter Haileybury under age in February 1816 – with a birth date in February 1801 this would have made him just fifteen on entry. Hudson remarks in his biography that the normal age of entry was seventeen – however the prospectus of the College, issued in 1806, mentions entry at the age of fifteen. Of Hodgson's direct contemporaries at Haileybury it seems, where one can deduce the year of birth, that normal entry was in the sixteenth year. This strengthens the case for an 1801 birth date for Hodgson.

Early schooling was in a number of locations as his family moved around but Hodgson's place at Haileybury, obtained for him by James Pattinson, a family friend and a director of the East India Company, provided him with an



Figure 1.1 Portrait of Brian Hodgson, taken in 1860, Hodgson Scrapbook pl. 1, NHM.

opportunity of which he took full advantage. Haileybury had been founded in 1806 as a college to educate future civilian employees of the East India Company – a course was designed of which the first two years were to be spent at Haileybury and the final period of an indefinite term (sometimes up to three or four years) at Fort William in Calcutta. The College itself appears to have been a lively place – in December 1816 a Mr Hume brought an action at the Court of Proprietors alleging that the College, 'was the disgrace of England and every person connected with it . . . and that the inhabitants, who lived in

the neighbourhood, were in a state of perpetual dread and alarm from the wanton excesses committed by the students'.[2] The charge was disputed by Malthus, Professor of Political Economy at the College and one of Hodgson's mentors – 'the preliminary tuition and general instruction afforded to the succeeding generations of the Company's servants at Hertford[3] will be found of extensive and valuable influence for India'.[4]

Malthus was one of the key formative influences at Haileybury for Hodgson who explained in his biographical memoir, writing in the third person, that he was 'taken there by a dear friend of his family, Professor Smyth of Cambridge and housed by him for the nonce at Malthus'. This led to a personal intimacy with the great political economist, matured by Smyth's subsequent visits:

> Present at sundry evening parties where saw Jeffreys, Macintosh, Whishaw and other celebrities and heard them discuss politics and literature. In like measure and with like views Mr Pattinson brought him into contact with George Canning who, with equal good nature and good effect discoursed about India and the fine field it opened for my ambition.[5]

At Haileybury Hodgson had a distinguished career, passing out as top of his year with honours in Bengali, Persian, Hindi, Political Economy and Classics – though failing in Mathematics. He notes in his memoir some of the friends and contacts that he made there – among them were Frederick Currie and George Clerk – men who were to have distinguished careers in India and with whom Hodgson kept in touch throughout their lives.

After finishing at Haileybury, Hodgson spent some time in London where his mother arranged for his portrait to be painted by Margaret Carpenter, one of a small number of women portrait painters and a pupil of Sir Henry Lawrence (see Plate 1). This sensitive painting shows a slight and handsome youth in his Haileybury gown against a dark background. It clearly comes from a pre-Victorian era – a reminder that Hodgson, whom one sees very much as a Victorian, spent his formative years in a very different environment.

Hodgson was entitled, as head of his year at Haileybury, to choose the Presidency in which he would work. Bengal was his choice and, he arrived in Calcutta in 1818 to continue his studies at Fort William. There Hodgson took full advantage of the contacts supplied to him to build up a range of friends and acquaintances who would stand him in good stead later. Of particular importance were the D'Oylys. Sir Charles D'Oyly held a number of senior posts, including, from 1821 to 1831, that of Commercial Resident in Patna – he was one of the best known of the Company servants of his time and an amateur painter of some note. Patna was the nearest senior British station to Kathmandu and the staging post for communications with Calcutta. D'Oyly's well-connected wife became a lifelong friend.

It was during his first year in Calcutta that Hodgson began to suffer from the 'liver condition' that would affect him at intervals for the rest of his time

in India and which meant that he would spend his time in hill stations. He noted that:

> in Bengal could not work owing to the effects of the climate. Lost rather than gained knowledge during the eighteen months stay, as said the college authorities to him when he went forth not first but only second on the list.[6]

His ill health led to the recommendation from his doctor 'here is your choice; six feet underground, resign the service or get a hill appointment'.[7] This presented a difficult choice. It would have been financially difficult for him to return to England, his family was in debt and he was seen as the bread-winner. Hill appointments within the Bengal presidency were hard to come by – there were effectively only two at a junior level, in Kumaon and Nepal. It was a measure of the impact that Hodgson had made during his short stay in Calcutta and, possibly, to the influence of Lady D'Oyly, that he was posted as Assistant Commissioner to Kumaon.

This short stay in Kumaon (it lasted only a year) was significant in that it gave him experience of administration and of the Himalayan region. Kumaon had been annexed by the British four years previously, when they had defeated the Nepalese, who had ruled there since 1790. It was virgin territory for the British and it provided Hodgson with the opportunity to become actively involved in establishing the rudiments of administration and on establishing the revenue settlement under George Traill, the Commissioner. This report was later published in *Asiatic Researches* as a 'Statistical Sketch of Kamaon' (*sic*) and introduced Hodgson to what was to become 'ethnography'.[8] This was a happy partnership and Traill was influential in forming Hodgson's opinions – particularly where relations with a distant central authority were concerned. The clash with Lord Ellenborough years later is an example of this.

The first two years in Nepal

The stay in Kumaon was cut short when Hodgson, probably on Traill's recommendation, was promoted to the post of Assistant Resident in Nepal. This was seen as a career advancement but the post provided him with few immediate opportunities. Following the 1816 war, the Government of Nepal had been forced to accept a British Resident but he was kept at arm's length by the Court – the job was seen as a diplomatic position in a country which was suspicious of British intentions. Consequently the Resident and his staff were not permitted to travel outside the Kathmandu Valley. Once again Hodgson was working under a superior, the Hon. Edward Gardner, whom he admired.

> Another man to form myself after – a man with all the simplicity and more than the courtesy of the Commissioner of Kumaon and a man who was the perfection of good sense and good temper – a man who

> liking the Nepalese and understanding them was doing wonders in reconciling a Court of Chinese proclivities to that offensive novelty of responsible international dealing through a permanent diplomatic establishment in their midst – a court whose pride and poverty made it, moreover, jealously fretful at the novel sight of the costly and pompous style then inseparable from all our Indian embassies.[9]

Despite the fact that Hodgson initially saw his stay in Nepal as being short lived it is clear that he realized there was an opportunity to find out more about a land which was virtually unknown. Buddhism was his first interest and this brought him into contact with the scholar Amritananda, who was well known to the Residency, having been an informant to Captain Knox some twenty years previously (see Plates 2 and 3). It was during this early period that Hodgson obtained from Amritananda and others the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts that he donated to recipients in Europe and India.[10] The initial research for 'Sketch of Buddhism' also dates from this period, Hodgson writing 'meanwhile, as the Patan Bauddha seemed very intelligent and my curiosity was excited I proposed to him (about 1823) a set of questions, which I desired he would answer from his books'.[11]

Presumably it was always the plan to bring Hodgson back to Calcutta when a suitable opportunity arose and it is not surprising that he returned in November 1822 as acting Deputy Secretary in the Persian Department of the Foreign Office – a key position and one that could lead to senior appointments. But this lasted only for a year before illness intervened and Hodgson had to return to the hills. He was offered Kathmandu again but, as his previous post had been filled, he would have to return as Postmaster until the Assistant Resident's post became vacant. He was reluctant initially to accept this but did so after receiving advice that he would have a fair chance of gaining the Resident's post in due course. It was on his return that Hodgson, realising that his future now lay in Nepal, began to develop and expand his range of interests.

The background

To understand the importance of Hodgson's work it is necessary to consider the situation in which he lived and worked. Nepal, as has been said, was virtually virgin territory to the British. There had been earlier visits by Kirkpatrick and Buchanan Hamilton (both of whom wrote books on their travels) and Knox had had a brief period as Resident at the beginning of the century but little else was known about Nepal, its peoples, cultures, flora and fauna – even the basic geography of the Himalayan region remained to be explained. However, the culture, climate and history of northern India had been, since the late eighteenth century, an area of fascination and discovery for many of the Europeans who lived in India. The achievements of the 'Orientalists' and the origins of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta are chronicled

elsewhere and it is unnecessary to demonstrate their importance here.[12] But the intellectual climate established in Calcutta in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries provided the necessary framework and support for Hodgson.[13] Of particular importance was the Asiatic Society, which saw his posting to Kathmandu as giving the opportunity for a promising young man to provide more information about Nepal – among other things he collected weather records and crystals for them.[14] Hodgson's relationship with the Society was lengthy and mutually satisfactory – he used the Society's journal, of course, as his main outlet for papers.

The importance of Calcutta was made greater by the difficulties of communication that made correspondence with London very tedious. It took at least four months to get a reply to a letter to London whereas the minimum turnaround time from Calcutta to Kathmandu was eighteen days. Added to this was the fact that the expertise on which Hodgson relied for advice and comment was mostly in Calcutta. However, he made every effort to keep in touch with developments in Europe and supplies of books were sent regularly from London. He eventually built up a sizeable library in Kathmandu – details of it are not known but, when he finally left India in 1858, he donated the residue of 894 books to St Paul's School in Darjeeling.[15]

Hodgson in Nepal 1824–1843

The return to Nepal was a disappointment to Hodgson, and he probably realised that his career now lay there. His initial duties could hardly have been taxing and we know very little of his official responsibilities until he took over as acting Resident in 1829. His energy was now focused in the areas that are the subject of this book – in the early stages in developing further his studies in Buddhism and languages and then in starting his work in zoology and ethnography. These areas are the subjects of other chapters, here I look at the overall picture – the extent and chronology of his publications, the range of his interests and his personal life.

Hodgson's investigations into Buddhism and the Newari and Tibetan languages, all of which could easily be studied in the Kathmandu Valley, took up much of his time in the early years and resulted in his major work 'Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet' and his 'Sketch of Buddhism', both published in 1828.[16] There followed, at later stages, shorter papers including notes on the inscriptions in Allahabad and at Sarnath.[17] As early as 1825 he commissioned Amritananda and a team of copyists to transcribe manuscripts for him – many of these were secular and formed the basis of his collection which is now mostly in the British Library.[18] His interest in Buddhism continued throughout his time in South Asia, though his most active period was the early one, and he continued to collect and copy manuscripts wherever possible – these were given to institutions in India and Europe. The indifferent reception that these received in Calcutta and in London compared with the enthusiasm shown by Burnouf in France contributed to

his decision to send a substantial amount of material to Paris.[19] The manuscripts he sent to Calcutta were used only by Csoma de Körös and were then not catalogued until 1882.[20] The manuscripts sent to the Royal Asiatic Society in London met with a similar fate. Hodgson's opportunities to enter into constructive dialogue about the manuscripts were virtually non-existent, and his knowledge of Sanskrit was limited. Perhaps this is why Buddhist studies seemed to become less important to him as other interests developed.

It was during his second period in Nepal that Hodgson's work in zoology intensified. He began with the observation of what was around him, this was followed by the employment of trappers and hunters and then of local draughtsmen and artists. The volume of his output is staggering – during his time in Nepal he researched and published ninety-seven papers on birds and mammals – the remaining thirty were written during his time in Darjeeling. The period of greatest activity was in the 1830s – by this time Hodgson was Resident and could set his own timetable. It was also a period of comparative stability in the political field. Moreover, Dr Campbell, who was now his Assistant Resident, was able to instruct Hodgson in the principles of anatomy and dissection (see Datta and Inskipp, Chapter 6, for further details). Hodgson's enthusiasm was for the identification of new species – in this he was spectacularly successful. But his interest extended into other areas. Although he made no claim to be a botanist he introduced tea cultivation into the Himalayas, establishing a plot in the Residency garden using seeds obtained from China by Kashmiri merchants.[21] Later on Dr Campbell, who took charge of Darjeeling in 1839, repeated the experiment leading to the establishment of commercial tea estates there by 1852.[22]

As Resident in Nepal one of Hodgson's main tasks would have been to convey information back to his political superiors in Calcutta in any area that might be considered to be of interest. The development of trading relationships was a particular concern of his and he wrote regularly on the importance of developing trans-Himalayan trade to China through Tibet – in particular an overland route from Calcutta to Peking which would challenge the established route from St Petersburg.[23] He wrote regularly about the various routes from Kathmandu to other parts of Nepal and elsewhere – a few of these were published but there is a larger collection of material in the Hodgson papers at the British Library. It would have been impractical to isolate his official work from his own interests and these papers often include comments on ethnological or architectural interest.

Hodgson's official work included the three papers that he wrote on the legal system and police in Nepal[24] and on the Nepalese army. The threat to British interests of an active Nepalese army in the Himalayas was real. Memories of the 1814–1816 war were recent and further military action remained a possibility. Gardner had estimated the standing army to be 10,000 men in 1816; by 1831 it had reached 15,000. Additionally the system of army enlistment was one of annual rotation, which increased substantially the number of men available and the potential threat.[25] Hodgson reported on

the size and composition of the Nepalese army to Calcutta and also, in his paper on 'The Military Tribes of Nepal'. In further reports he advocated the recruitment of Gurkha soldiers into the Indian army. This recommendation had to wait until 1857 until it was fully adopted.[26]

Although Hodgson's major papers were published the full range of his interests can only be established by looking at his unpublished material. For example, the architectural and iconographical drawings in the Musée Guimet and the Royal Asiatic Society have only recently been examined.[27] But the main source of unpublished material is in the British Library. This covers an exhaustive range of subjects. Not all materials have been examined – for example only twelve out of the twenty-four volumes of materials in English have been catalogued, and this was in 1927. Work currently in progress has revealed inaccuracies. The subjects include topography, routes and itineraries, population and tax returns, historical notes, ethnology, trade, the law, paper-making, the structure of the army, agriculture, prices and wages, festivals, ceremonies and religious practices, linguistics, and mining in Nepal. These papers still await detailed examination.[28] The sheer number of them makes this a formidable task – there are nearly 100 bound volumes containing up to 3,000 manuscripts in English, Nepali, Newari, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu together with some in Tibeto-Burman languages such as Limbu and Lepcha.[29]

Hodgson's interests were not solely confined to Nepal. The Kathmandu Valley was in the key position on the trading route from India to Tibet. He learnt some Tibetan early in his time in Nepal and his interest in Tibetan culture made him well known as far as Lhasa, from where the Dalai Lama sent him gifts of the Kanjur and Tanjur – encyclopaedias consisting of sacred texts.[30] More romantically he also gave Hodgson the remains of the literary estate of the former Catholic Mission to Central Asia, which Hodgson presented to the Pope through the Catholic bishop of Patna.[31]

Hodgson played an active role in other areas. He took a keen interest in the passionate debate about the use of languages in Indian education – the issue that became a battleground between the 'Orientalists', wanting an education system based on the study of Indian classical languages and learning, and the 'Reformists' who believed state instruction in India should be modelled on British lines promoting European literature and science. Hodgson wrote four lengthy letters to *The Friend of India*, the independent newspaper published in Serampore, arguing the case for a middle way – the use of the vernacular. These letters were published in book form soon afterwards. The case was well argued, though it failed to win the day.

Details of Hodgson's personal life in Nepal come largely from W.W. Hunter's 1896 biography – not all the letters to which Hunter had access have been preserved.[32] The European community in Kathmandu was limited to the Resident and his immediate staff which would have consisted of his assistant, a doctor and the captain of his bodyguard of 100 cavalry. During Hodgson's time European women were not allowed into Nepal – this ended when Henry

Lawrence, Hodgson's successor, defied the ban. The Resident's salary was £4,000 a year – a substantial sum and enough to allow Hodgson to employ the people that he needed for his studies. His daily life, as described in 1833 to his sister Fanny, consisted of his routine duties, which were not usually demanding, driving out or shooting in the afternoon, dinner with his colleagues and reading in the evening. He continues:

> Zoology in the branches of the birds and quadrupeds amuses me much. I have three native artists always employed in drawing from nature. I possess a live tiger, a wild sheep, a wild goat, four bears, three civets and three score of our beautiful pheasants. A rare menagerie! And my drawings now amount to two thousand. The antiquities of the land afford me much entertainment. I pore over the pictorial, sculptural and architectural monuments of Buddhism by the light of the ancient books of the sect; and the learned Thebans of your isle appear to gather my gleanings with eagerness. But the past chiefly interests me as it can be made to illustrate the present – the origin, genius, character and attainments of the people.[33]

Harihar Joshi (Chapter 3) writes of the oral traditions that remained until recently in the Kathmandu valley. The fact that there were such long memories of Hodgson indicates the esteem in which he was held. His personal habits must have contributed to this – by the end of his period there he had adopted Nepali dress and Brahmin habits – becoming both vegetarian and teetotal. Over time he also developed close relationships with the court and with a wide cross-section of Kathmandu society, so much so that when his departure was announced the attempts to get the decision changed were led by the Maharajah.[34] His domestic situation is also explored by Joshi – the relationship with Meharrunisha Begum can only have begun in or after 1833 as, in that year, Hodgson wrote to his sister Fanny:

> it is pretty clear that a bachelor's lot must be mine. I cannot leave India before I am two and forty, the last sixteen of which I shall have spent in a monastery and have contracted, no doubt, the monastic wont of celibacy.[35]

His son Henry, however, was born on 15 October 1835[36] and his daughter Sarah in 1836 so his domestic situation must have changed very soon after he wrote to his sister. The relationship with Meharrunisha Begum is one of the lesser-known areas of Hodgson's life but she stayed with him until he left Nepal, despite local criticism.[37] It is beyond doubt that he abandoned her when he returned to England and, although he is said to have kept in touch,[38] there are no records to confirm this. Her sense of betrayal must have been acute. The existence of a third child is anecdotal only – given the care that he lavished on his two children it seems unlikely that he would have had

no interest in the third. Hodgson was open with his parents and his family about his children. Before he left Nepal he wrote to his father 'as to my dear boy and girl I cannot to part with them or disown them, and therefore I must have a separate tent to pitch for myself on your shores, though in the neighbourhood of yours'[39] – their story is told in the next section.

Hodgson's role as Resident is covered elsewhere in this book,[40] but his quarrel with Ellenborough must be mentioned, as the bitterness remained with Hodgson for the rest of his life (see Whelpton, Chapter 2, for more detail). This feud carried on for the last two years of his time in Nepal and affected Hodgson to the extent that he had more health problems.

The question of whether Hodgson actually meant to retire when he left Nepal remains an open one. There is no doubt that his long-term plan was to retire after twenty-five years service and collect his pension, he mentioned this in many letters. It was a decision that he came later to regret, and it is one that he might well have backed away from had it not been for the Ellenborough episode. However, retirement made sense in personal terms. He had saved money throughout his time in Nepal and contributed to his pension which came to £1,000 per annum. Later on, through living frugally in Darjeeling he managed to accumulate savings of £16,000, giving him freedom from financial worries for the rest of his life.

Darjeeling

After lengthy farewells in Calcutta,[41] Hodgson sailed for England in early 1844.[42] His feelings were still raw at his treatment by Ellenborough and he spent time on the voyage writing a pamphlet justifying his actions which quoted extensively from letters of support he had received. When he reached England this was circulated privately to friends but not published, though he used the material at a later stage when the issue resurfaced. On arrival in England he found that Ellenborough had been dismissed and he was received with enthusiasm by the Court of Directors of the East Indian Company. He could well have been reinstated, but this was not his wish at the time – a decision he regretted bitterly later. While at home time had to be spent on family matters – his parents were now aged – and on making arrangements for the children. Further he had to decide what to do with his collections of specimens, which eventually went to museums. But Hodgson was still ill at ease and failed to settle. Finally he decided that the only option that made sense was to return to India in a private capacity and continue his studies. He took the children to Arnhem where he left them with his sister Fanny. In July 1845 he sailed from Cork to Calcutta, writing to his father from the ship 'if I stayed I should pass from despondent listlessness to petulant irritability. I am going forth therefore, alone and sad. When I reach India I may possibly be enabled to resume and complete my researches.'[43]

The decision to return cannot have been easy and Hodgson initially intended to stay only for a short period. His plans were far from clear. Writing to

Fanny shortly after his return he told her that he was off to the Straits for a month before deciding either to go to Darjeeling with the Campbells or to return to England.[44] However, the voyage failed to materialize and he wrote shortly afterwards to Fanny to say that he had given up this plan and would proceed slowly up the river to Darjeeling, going on to say 'I have declined for the present by Maddock's advice an invitation to visit Nepal, where it seems my influence is considered to be still too great'.[45]

Darjeeling, which had only recently been settled, provided a temperate climate and a base from which to continue his studies, particularly in zoology and ethnography. Moreover Dr Campbell, Hodgson's former assistant in Kathmandu, had recently been appointed Superintendent.[46] Hodgson never found it easy to make friends and Campbell's presence was probably a deciding factor in reaching the decision to stay. He bought a four-bedroomed bungalow from Herbert Maddock which he named Brianstone (see Figure 1.2). This house, which had spectacular views towards Kanchenjunga, was to form his base for the next thirteen years. His belongings, including his books, were sent from Nepal and some of his household retainers and artists came too, including Rajman Singh, his main draughtsman. Hodgson had little time for Darjeeling society and, freed from the burden of office, became a virtual recluse. His letters to his sister Fanny, however, reveal his loneliness and his worries about the children – he writes to her about his wish to marry although



Figure 1.2 Brianstone, Hodgson's bungalow at Darjeeling. An early photo from the east side, *c.*1850, Hodgson Scrapbook, pl. 24, NHM.

it was clear that Darjeeling society was unlikely to provide a suitable spouse.[47] Concern for the children was a continuing feature of his correspondence throughout these early years in Darjeeling – he wrote to Fanny in 1847:

> how inexpressibly comfortable it is for me to realise that my sweet Fan is the guardian of my poor brown children. God bless them! They will have much to struggle against when their sensibilities become fully awake, in future contact with the white world! I often think of this painfully, being perpetually in the way of hearing what people say on the topic, always insulting and cruel! I met with a very sweet girl of mixed race some time ago and involuntarily my heart warmed towards her so that I was marked for my attentions.[48]

After settling in, Hodgson threw himself into his work. The opportunities for Buddhist studies were limited in a newly settled site perched on a Himalayan ridge and much of his work in recording new species of birds and mammals had been done, but the output of zoological articles continued, though to a lesser extent, as did a more limited production of drawings. The focus of his work now was in the area of ethnography and the disparate languages of the various groups he was studying, together with the physical geography of the Himalayas. The initial publication came as soon as 1847, with a major work on the Kooch, Bodo and Dhimal, and this was followed by papers on the Aborigines of the sub-Himalayas and comparative vocabularies of sub-Himalayan dialects. Another group of publications came in 1848 and 1849 including his major work 'On the Physical Geography of the Himalaya'. These were accompanied by a further series of zoological papers – mainly on mammals.

Hodgson had few visitors in Darjeeling but he kept up his senior contacts. Writing to Fanny in 1847:

> the Government are sending a political mission to Tibet and I have been called upon to furnish a list of data and desiderata – I have been for a month over head and ears in the ocean of such reading and writing, consulting and extracting with Humboldt, Prichard, Crosier, Klaprot, Remusat on one side and Gerard, Moorcroft, Lloyd, Cunningham, De Koros, Malte, Brun on the other.[49]

The most well-known of his visitors was J.D. Hooker, who spent the best part of two years based in Darjeeling with Hodgson while he botanized in the Himalayan region. The relationship between these two men is covered in detail by Arnold in Chapter 9 and Hooker's letters to his fiancée and father provide a valuable source of information about Hodgson.[50] Their professional collaboration was at its most intense on the paper 'On the Physical Geography of the Himalaya'. The two men also went on winter field trips to the terai – Hodgson would keep detailed notes on these occasions.[51]

Hooker and Campbell's adventures in Sikkim are well documented by Hooker but Hodgson's account of what happened at the Darjeeling end is interesting. He wrote to Fanny in December 1849:

> Campbell joined Hooker some weeks ago and they went over the snow into Tibet against the treaties of the Sikim and Tibet authorities. They repeated this and were seized on their second transgression and all their correspondence with us, at the same time, stopped. The news of their seizure thus came suddenly on us and was followed quickly by rumours of their murder and an attack on this place, where we have more ladies and children to defend than soldiers to defend them with. . . . However we were not disposed to fold our hands and trust our ladies to the faith of the barbarians. So we mustered to a man and I had the honour of mounting guard on the ladies one night! 'Twas cold work, but then the honour of the thing and the pleasure![52]

Family matters continued to occupy Hodgson during these first years in Darjeeling. He remained concerned that his children should have the best possible start in life 'I wish them to be well dressed and not improvided with money as well, as a means of keeping abreast of their playmates of more fortunate hue'.[53] But by 1849 concern was being expressed about Henry's health – he was said to have a liver condition, like his father. More seriously, in 1851, came news that Sarah had been taken ill. Hodgson could do nothing but wait and hope – writing to Fanny:

> Oh that I was at her side to nurse her, cheer her or take her to the soft clime of Italy or her native India. Her attachment to her mother spoke angel tongued for her goodness of heart and warmth and depth of feeling. . . . Oh that I had written oftener and more fondly to her. But I feared to excite a tenderness that I was not destined to repay . . . but I could not bring her to India and in you she had a more than Mother whom it seemed best for her to learn to love.[54]

Sarah's death, from tuberculosis, followed on 12 September in that year.[55]

Henry presented Hodgson with a problem. His health was not good and he found difficulty in settling in England. Eventually it was decided that he should return to India. Henry arrived in Calcutta in early 1853. Presumably it was intended that he should meet up with his father but their paths only briefly crossed as he arrived at the same time that Hodgson was being evacuated to England on health grounds. The two saw each other only briefly. Henry, after arriving, decided to become a Zimindar, writing to his Aunt Fanny in January 1853, 'As a Zimindar I shall have the immense prospect of doing good and the opportunity most likely of converting some poor Indians to the true faith'.[56]

His father had, however, arranged for Henry to go to stay with Dr Ballantyne, the Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College where he was presumably to learn

Hindi but the next, and final, letter from Henry during his short stay was begun in Patna on 27 April 1853 and finished in Darjeeling. He had suffered terribly from the heat in the plains and the doctors finally decided to send him to Darjeeling, which he reached after a horrific journey, staying with the Campbells until his father's return. There was, however, a dramatic turnaround in Hodgson's life – he returned later in the year with a bride, Anne Scott, whom he had met in Holland, presumably through his sister. She must have known the children in Europe and, to her credit, took an interest in Henry when she arrived in Darjeeling. An interesting part of the Royal Asiatic Society archive is a notebook she prepared for his birthday in October 1855 listing his father's honours and achievements, including copies of letters from Burnouf, Hooker, Cunningham, Bunsen and Logan. We don't know what happened to Henry during the rest of his stay in Darjeeling – tragically this was cut short by his death on 3 April 1856. He was buried in Darjeeling but the cause of death was not recorded.

Despite his new domestic arrangements, Hodgson returned to his old routines on his return to Darjeeling. The studies continued, with an even stronger focus on ethnology and linguistics. From 1853 until his departure from India he published only six zoological papers. A project was designed with von Humboldt to produce an Atlas of Physical Geography to use in schools but it came to nothing. The question of possible European colonization of the Himalayas was fashionable at this time – Hodgson's views were expressed in a paper dated 1858. Memories of the Indian Mutiny were all too recent and, although Darjeeling was not directly affected by the unrest, the import of what had happened could not be overlooked. The India he had known was changing rapidly, at a speed with which he seemed to find it difficult to cope. His views were expressed in a letter to his sister Eliza, while he was outraged by the behaviour of the recent settlers he simultaneously advocated white colonization as a solution:

> Things are strangely altered since my time: then knowledge of and respect for, all the peculiarities of our subjects were exacted and enforced: now one hears ordinarily and from the mouths of decent folks contemptuous phrases (nigger etc) applied to the people while those of us who either like or know them are yclept oldfashioned twaddles. Govt then carefully upheld their languages, literature creed and customs; Govt now is everyday more and more casting behind it all regard for such things and too hastily advancing on a path which the people see must lead to eventual annihilation of them all. Why not advance more prudently, more graciously? And why suffer, and even encourage even negatively, manifestations in ordinary social intercourse of that haughty contempt of inferior races to which all men and, above all, Englishmen, are so very prone? Why do all this while, at the same time, no sage precautions are adopted to render the anger we thus inevitable awaken, inoperative? Brahmins and Chetris are the

> very staff of life of Hinduism. Why take no obvious measures to lessen our dependence on these in the army while the general proceedings and the tone of our intercourse are becoming more and more offensive to Hindus. We could easily get Sikhs and Nepalese in large numbers for our army and could easily establish by degrees a white colony in the Himalaya; and these two measures would together make us independent of Brahmin and Chetri support.[57]

His time in India was coming to an end but it is worth mentioning that Hodgson maintained his contacts in Nepal throughout, particularly with Jung Bahadur Rana, who assumed power in Nepal in 1846. Jung Bahadur had charged Hodgson with responsibility for the education of his son-in-law at Darjeeling and the two maintained a friendly correspondence until the time of Jung Bahadur's death.[58] Through his contacts in Calcutta, Hodgson also played a leading role in persuading the British Government to accept military aid from Nepal at the time of the Indian Mutiny. It made his dream of seeing active cooperation between British and Nepalese troops be realized.

In 1857 his wife's health gave way and she left for Europe. Hodgson stayed for a further year but decided then that the time had come for him to return home – he left Darjeeling that summer and never returned to India. It was probably a good time for him to leave – the India that he knew was rapidly changing. The demise of the East India Company after the mutiny and the new social and political environment was leaving him behind. His corpus of academic work was largely completed. It was time to leave.

The final years

Hodgson lived for a further thirty-six years after leaving India and continued to be active until shortly before his death. He showed no inclination to play an active role in British intellectual life – surprisingly he appears to have taken little interest in the scientific debates of his time. The only reference to Darwinism, for example, is in an early paper where Hodgson advances the theory that the inhabitants of the terai had, over thirty centuries, acclimatized to life in a place deadly to any other race.[59] Hodgson's interest was not on domestic matters – it remained focused on Nepal and India, and on the difficult task of ensuring that the contribution he had made there was fully appreciated. To this end he maintained active correspondence with friends and academics. However he conducted no more original research, he was now cut off from his sources

The early years at home were spent mainly on domestic matters – he had to look after a sick wife and her elderly parents. A house was bought at Dursley in Gloucestershire and the 1861 census return shows that Hodgson, his wife, his in-laws, his wife's orphaned nephew and niece and an assortment of servants – thirteen persons in all – were living there.[60] In 1867 Hodgson made a short move to The Grange at Alderley – and based himself



Figure 1.3 Brian Hodgson in old age, photo from the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Hodgson 19, fol. 3.

there until his death. Here he is said to have lived the life of a country squire, riding with the hounds until well into his sixties, though he offended his neighbours by being a supporter of Gladstone.

Hodgson's long negotiations with the museum world after returning home are dealt with in Chapter 6 and there is no doubt that the problems of an ailing wife and parents-in-law took up much of his time. However, he did begin, when stimulated, to take an interest in wider issues. W.W. Hunter, Hodgson's future biographer, became friendly with him at this time. Hunter was then only twenty-seven, on a year's sick leave from India, and wanted to make use of Hodgson's materials for his research into his work on the *Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia*. Hodgson gave his whole-hearted support to this project, writing to Hunter on 1 November 1867, and venting his feelings on the way he had been treated since returning to England:

> I have nothing to object to – everything to approve. I think myself very fortunate in obtaining so good an editor of my Himalayan researches and trust that the same care may be applied to other parts of my labours – labours in which for long years I spared neither purse not person, and which, nevertheless, have been plagiarised and ignored in the same breath too often, in a way which would not have been ventured on but for the obscure methods of their publication.[61]

Hodgson bombarded the India Council with applications for support for the forthcoming project, and undertook, with certain conditions, to share the expenses. This involvement with the *Dictionary* led to a lasting friendship and Hunter was a frequent visitor to Hodgson's home. This extract of a letter by Hunter to his wife suggests that Hodgson's domestic routine had changed little since his days in Kathmandu:

> My host, the old ambassador, is a tall slender aristocratic man, with an air of distinction even in his moustaches, a great hunting man and hence an early riser. We breakfast at 8.30 and then he and I retire to a summer house and smoke our pipes for an hour. From ten to one I work in my room, he in his. Then we lunch. . . . From half past two until five I am again at my writing table. At five my host and I go for a long ride, or accompany a carriage full of the house party on horseback. We get home just in time to dress for dinner at eight. General Scott is the next person to be described. An old Waterloo man, aetat ninety, unable to walk and wheeled about in a chair. Grieves perpetually for his lost wife and children and clings mournfully to his son in law, my host.[62]

By this time Hodgson's wife Anne had died, she was followed, a year later, by her father. The strain on Hodgson was real. Hunter commented in his diary, when he revisited Alderley in October 1868:

> Long talks every day with poor H. urging him to edit his scattered works. Felt cut to the heart at his solitary and unheeded state. His researches, the foundation of a noble edifice, are now turned into a vast quarry, out of which scholars surreptitiously build their own fame.[63]

In 1869 Hodgson's marital status changed once more. Hooker, another regular visitor, wrote to Hudson in March:

> he has, no doubt, told you of his approaching marriage to a young lady of twenty-six. He is in great excitement, but hardly, I think, in high spirits about it. His life is not a happy one and I fervently hope and believe that this step will turn out to his comfort.[64]

Little is known about Susan Townshend except that the marriage, rather surprisingly, worked despite the age difference and she seemed to be happy to spend much of her life looking after Hodgson in what must have seemed a never-ending old age. Hodgson described his wedding in a letter to Fanny, still living in Holland:

> did I tell you about the wedding and the wedding breakfast? How there were 8 bridesmaids and 32 guests and how Sir James Colville in a graceful speech told the sum of my public and private life so as to fill with trust and confidence those who were necessarily partially or wholly ignorant about me.[65]

The newly married couple seemed content with a honeymoon at home – it was spent in Slough, with excursions to Windsor, Eton, Runnymede and Virginia Water.

Hodgson maintained contacts with those in the academic world interested in India. For example, Max Müller was a frequent correspondent, obtaining Hodgson's support in his unsuccessful candidature for the Boden Chair of Sanskrit at Oxford. Müller tried, without success, to persuade Hodgson to write up his linguistic and ethnographical papers 'I trust you will find leisure in England for writing a résumé of your discoveries on the Himalayan babel. A linguistic map of that country would be very useful, and nobody could do it as well as you.'[66] In later years Cecil Bendall and Austine Waddell, both scholars of Buddhism, were regular correspondents and occasional visitors. Hooker remained a friend throughout Hodgson's life and his recollections of Hodgson's Darjeeling days, written for Hunter's biography, are a very useful account of this period. Barnard Davis, the craniologist, maintained regular contact and lectured on Hodgson's collection of skulls, which had been presented to the British Museum.[67] The faithful Dr Campbell was a regular correspondent and visitor until his death in 1878.

The decision in 1864 to present his major collection of materials collected in Nepal to the Secretary of State for India shows that Hodgson decided, soon after his return to England, not to proceed with his proposed history of Nepal. This decision, which was probably prompted by domestic issues, meant that Hodgson had lost his opportunity to produce a major work and a claim to recognition. It also meant that Hodgson's published work, most of which was in Indian journals, was not easily available in Britain. The reprinting by Trübner in 1874 and 1880 of some of Hodgson's most important writings partially redressed the situation, but the papers chosen were mainly his writings on Buddhism and ethnography – none of the zoological papers were included. The opportunity for the British public to appreciate Hodgson's achievements was never there.

A watching brief was kept on developments in India – this is clear from the RAS archive, consisting of papers presented to the Society after Hodgson's death by his widow. Much of this collection of newspaper cuttings, manuscripts,

letters and articles relates to the later period of Hodgson's life but he kept a substantial number of his earlier papers, often extensively annotated. Trans-Himalayan trade remained a particular interest, and one on which he wrote regularly – whether to the press or to the India Office, which was regularly accused of neglecting opportunities. His role was recognized when he was invited to take part in a deputation in 1874 on the opening up of trade with Tibet.

What agitated Hodgson most was any criticism, implied or otherwise, of his time in Nepal. He read carefully any publication connected with Nepal and would comment at length. Wright's *History of Nepal* came in for careful analysis and anything ill thought through or inaccurate received no mercy. The book by Captain Smith, his former assistant in Kathmandu was rightly slated for plagiarism as well as inaccuracies. But, surprisingly, it was the publication of the *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence* by Edwardes and Merivale in 1872 that aroused the fiercest reaction and prompted the only new work written by Hodgson in his later years. It also demonstrated that the wounds caused by his dismissal by Lord Ellenborough were still raw.

Sir Henry Lawrence was Hodgson's successor in Nepal. The two men had no time for each other though they preserved outward civilities. Lawrence, whose first civilian appointment this was, had been instructed by Ellenborough to steer well clear of any involvement with the court[68] but he went beyond this by indulging in personal criticism of his predecessor. 'From the day he became resident he seemed to have striven how far he could interfere' he wrote to Currie[69] and he also complained of 'unseemly honorifics' made to members of the Durbar. Whether Hodgson was aware of this is not known, but he certainly suspected something and was, no doubt, kept informed by his friends. The whole issue flared up when Hodgson became aware of the following passage from Edwardes and Merivale:

> There seemed to have been three royal parties at this time in the Nepaul court – the king himself, his heir apparent (the eldest son of the late first queen), and the surviving second queen; or, as Henry Lawrence familiarly called them, 'Mr Nepaul, Master Nepaul and Mrs Nepaul;' and they all passed their time in violent and unnatural intrigues against each other after the true Nepalese fashion. Each tried to get the British Resident on his side and Lawrence's predecessor fell into the snare and added to the confusion.[70]

Hodgson was infuriated by the patronizing language and by the final sentence. His response was immediate. He wrote to Sir George Clerk, an old friend and a member of the India Council, having heard that Clerk, in 1844, had advised Lawrence to avoid casting any slur on his predecessor's system, at least for a time:

> May I ask you whether you are aware of Lawrence's total inattention to that wise caution? Of his immediate and persevering detraction

> of me and my doings in his communications with Govt. until Lord Ellenborough was obliged to tell him. I came to the knowledge of these facts through being housed with Maddock for some time before I sailed for England – the wound still smarts after 28 years.[71]

Hodgson eventually decided to 'stand silently on my reputation'. He then asked Clerk to:

> bring that pamphlet that Currie sent you. It is my only copy, the only copy I believe to be in existence being the one sent to me by the printer for correction but never returned to him, having changed my mind about circulation of the thing even to my friends. Else I should have recast the arrangement or omitted parts of it . . . I wrote it on board ship on my way home when the excitement caused by Ld. Ellenborough's behaviour to me was too fresh.[72]

This letter clears up a minor mystery – the authorship of the pamphlet 'Notes on the Services of a Friend', earlier mistakenly attributed by the British Library to W.W. Hunter.[73] Surprisingly, the eventual publication of this seems to have taken place some years after the Edwardes and Merivale book came out – the pamphlet, although undated, appears to have been written in 1883.[74] The pamphlet itself consists of an initial chapter written, as we now know, by Hodgson detailing his achievements. This is followed by appendices consisting of extracts of letters and documents paying tribute to Hodgson's work and details of his publications and donations. Hodgson's reaction to an event which happened thirty years previously and was only of interest to a small group of people demonstrates his continued sensitivity and his need to justify his actions.

Hodgson brooded over the events of 1842 to 1843 for the rest of his life. He had written a biographical memoir in 1868 and this was supplemented by a further unpublished memoir 'Recollections of my Public Life' in 1891[75] which deals almost interminably with the Ellenborough incident. He remained active until late in life. Max Müller wrote in 1884, 'I thought you had turned Sannyasin and gone into the forest having nobly finished your work as Grihastha. But you seem as young as ever while your juniors have grown into old grey haired men.'[76] Not content to stay at Alderley he also had houses at Wimbledon and Mentone on the French Riviera. Hodgson would winter in Mentone accompanied by his extended family consisting mainly of his wife's relations. By then he must have been a striking figure – his sister-in-law remarked 'while travelling abroad he attracted notice by his likeness to the Kaiser William 1, a circumstance which, I believe, offered him some amused gratification'.[77]

Late in life he received some of the honours that should have come his way at an earlier stage. The most notable of these was the award of an honorary doctorate at Oxford in 1889 (see Plate 24) though the somewhat rowdy occasion must have bemused him.[78] The end came quietly, in London, on 23 May 1894 and he was buried in the churchyard at Alderley soon afterwards.

Obituaries were thorough, though it is clear that not all his achievements had been remembered. Family tributes preserved in the Bodleian show the affection they had for him, and his widow, determined that her husband's achievements should be recorded, commissioned W.W. Hunter to write his biography. This work, on which Hunter spent a substantial amount of time, is extremely thorough, though, as is normal with Victorian biographies, somewhat uncritical in its approach.[79] Without it the preparation of this book would have been much more difficult.

Notes

1 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, Large Book.
2 F.C. Danvers (ed.), *Memorials of Old Haileybury College*, London: Constable, 1894.
3 The College was founded at Hertford in 1806 and moved to Haileybury (near Hertford) in 1809.
4 Danvers, 1894.
5 Biographical Memoirs, Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library.
6 Ibid.
7 W.W. Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, London: Murray, 1896, p. 31.
8 See Peter Pels in 'From Texts to Bodies', a revised version of a paper published in the *Yearbook of the International Association of Asian Studies*, 1994, in which he clarifies the meaning of 'statistics' in the nineteenth-century sense and relates it to contemporary orientalism.
9 Ibid.
10 For details of these donations see Hunter, 1896, Appendix A. Some manuscripts were copied for more than one recipient.
11 B.H. Hodgson, 'Sketch of Buddhism', *TRAS*, vol. 2, 1828, reprinted in *Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London: Trübner, 1874. Lopez goes into the development of this paper in detail in Chapter 4.
12 There have been many recent publications on the significance of the Orientalists and the contribution that they made to learning – it is not necessary for the purposes of this book to cover the ground again except where there are specific issues relevant to Hodgson.
13 See Ann Datta (Chapter 7) for further information about the role of the Asiatic Society and its contacts with professionals in zoological sciences in the UK.
14 Hodgson kept weather records throughout his time in Kathmandu and Darjeeling.
15 These were not catalogued until 1881 but the list, now in the Bodleian Library, shows only general works. Presumably he took his most valued books home.
16 These works were extensively revised as they were republished – see Lopez (Chapter 4).
17 The 1830s was the period when inscriptions on long decayed Buddhist monuments in northern India were being deciphered – see Charles Allen, *The Buddha and the Sahibs*, London: Murray, 2002, in particular p. 171.
18 Dr Ramesh Dhungel is examining these and reports that most of the MSS in the Hodgson collection, donated in 1864, are copies of earlier works.
19 There is extensive correspondence in the Autograph book in the RAS archive with Burnouf and, of course, his contribution was recognized through his appointment as Chevalier of the Legion of Honour.
20 By Rajendra Lal Mitra in *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal,* Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882.

21 See Hodgson, 'On the Colonisation of the Himalaya by Europeans' in *Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet,* 1874, p. 87–88. I am indebted to Harihar Joshi for pointing this out to me.
22 Campbell took a serious interest in the agriculture of Nepal, writing a paper 'Notes on the Agriculture and Rural Economy of the Valley of Nepaul 1837', *The Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India*, vol. 4.
23 See his paper on Trans-Himalayan Commerce, written in 1831.
24 Two of these are reprinted in *Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects*, London: Trübner, 1880, vol. 2.
25 See Hunter, 1896, pp. 102–103.
26 The Indian army recruited Gurkha battalions from 1815 onwards – 1857 triggered an expansion in the number of regiments.
27 See J.P. Losty (Chapter 5).
28 This process is now underway, with the appointment of Dr Ramesh Dhungal, and should be completed by 2006.
29 Hodgson's contribution to the study of language was significant – see van Driem (Chapter 11).
30 These were presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the directors of the East India Company.
31 See introduction to C. Markham (ed.), *Mission of George Bogle to Tibet*, London: Trübner, 1874, pp. 84–87.
32 The Bodleian Library in Oxford has the most complete collection, which I have used extensively. There appear to be several unexplained gaps – most of the letters, which Hunter used, are not in the collection.
33 Hunter, 1896, pp. 78–79.
34 See Autograph book in RAS archives.
35 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, vol. 16.
36 Although it is clear that he was born in 1835, his tombstone records his age at the time of his death as being twenty one. He died on 3 April 1856 at the age of twenty years and six months. I am informed that the Nepalese way of counting age starts at year one. So a child having his first birthday by our reckoning would be recorded in Nepal as being two. This accounts for the inscription on the tombstone. See Joshi, (Chapter 3) for further details.
37 A poster preserved in the RAS archive shows that she was denounced as a spy.
38 See Hunter, 1896, p. 86. The implication is that Meharrunisha died before his marriage to Ann Scott.
39 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, vol. 16.
40 See Whelpton (Chapter 2).
41 The Asiatic Society of Bengal (as it now was) honoured him at a special meeting and commissioned a bust by T.E. Thorneycroft – the original of this is now in The Natural History Museum in London and a plaster replica at the Royal Asiatic Society.
42 We assume that his children travelled at around the same time, or slightly earlier, but there is no documentary evidence.
43 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, vol. 16.
44 Ibid.
45 Ibid. Sir Herbert Maddock, a former Resident in Nepal, was now Secretary to the Government. This letter is interesting in that the conventional account was that Hodgson was forbidden to return to Nepal. As a private citizen the Government, presumably, would have had no right to do this.
46 Darjeeling was only settled in 1839 when the land was leased from the Rajah of Sikkim.
47 Darjeeling, as a hill station, had more than its share of widows and families who had been sent there while the husband soldiered on in the plains.

48 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, vol. 9.
49 Ibid.
50 See David Arnold (Chapter 9).
51 Some of these can be seen in the RAS archive.
52 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, vol. 16.
53 Ibid.
54 Ibid.
55 She died at 4 York Villas, Richmond Road, Twickenham. Why was she in Twickenham? The 1851 census, which took place in March – seven months before Sarah's death – reveals that Brian Hodgson senior (then aged 84), his daughter Ellen Baroness Nahuys de Burgst, two of her daughters and a footman were staying in a lodging house at 7 Old Palace Terrace. One can only conclude that some or all of them stayed on in the area, renting the villa in Richmond Road and that Sarah joined them there until her death. See Richard Smith, 'A Petersham Mystery', *Journal of the Richmond Local History Society*, May 1996, vol. 17. There is a memorial to both children placed by Hodgson in the Parish Church at Petersham.
56 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, vol. 12.
57 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, vol. 9.
58 See correspondence in the RAS and the Bodleian Library.
59 See *Gleanings of Science*, vol. 111 – the inhabitants of the terai had developed a resistance to malaria.
60 Parish Registers, Rate Books, Census Returns 1861.
61 F.S. Skrine, *Life of Sir William Wilson Hunter*, London: Longmans Green, 1901, p. 137.
62 Ibid., p. 145.
63 Ibid., p. 154.
64 Ibid., p. 172.
65 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, Book 9.
66 Ibid.
67 There were ninety of these, some were picked up in the Kathmandu Valley at Sankhamul and on the banks of the Baghmati – see Owens, *Report of Human Skulls Donated to the British Museum by B.H. Hodgson* with MSS amendments by Hodgson; RAS Archive Box 1.
68 Harold Lee, *Brothers in the Raj*, Oxford: OUP, 2002, pp. 100–102 gives a full account of this.
69 Henry Lawrence Papers 5A, p. 135, OIOC, British Library.
70 Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, London: Smith and Elder, 1872, vol. 1, p. 470.
71 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, Book 10.
72 Ibid.
73 I am indebted to Harihar Joshi for initially pointing this out.
74 The RAS copy has 1883 written in Hodgson's handwriting.
75 Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, Large Book.
76 BHH Archive, RAS, Autograph book.
77 Memoir by Annie Smith, Gordon Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, Large Book.
78 A newspaper cutting in the RAS archive records 'convocation was formally opened by the Vice Chancellor in Latin but very little could be heard on account of the interruptions. He was met with cries of "Speak up", "Well rowed St John's", "What language is it", etc. Pronounced hissing from the undergraduates was generally directed at the proctors, who were informed that they could retire as they had done too much this term. This remark was generally approved and the Senior Proctor was asked to oblige with a song, and failing this, he and his co-adjutor were requested to give a duet. The gentlemen on whom it was proposed to confer the degree of DCL Honoris Causa were enthusiastically cheered on making their appearances.'

79 It would have been even more so if Mrs Hodgson had had her way. Hunter wrote to her 'I am sorry that you do not like chapter XI, as it was the result of much thought and labour. I fear, however, that it will be scarcely possible to adopt your idea of making it a brilliant sketch of Buddhism, a subject now so universally popular . . . My duty was to present a clear and faithful account of the services rendered by Mr Hodgson to Buddhist research over half a century ago. In this book I have enjoyed the great privilege of the personal aid of the two chief living experts who have followed most closely on Mr Hodgson's teachings – Prof. Bendall and Dr Waddell. I leave the results without fear to the judgement of the public. Nor will it be practicable to adopt your suggestion to relegate the criticisms which have been passed on Mr Hodgson's work to footnotes or appendices.' Hodgson MS, Bodleian Library, vol. 13.

2

THE POLITICAL ROLE OF BRIAN HODGSON

John Whelpton

Brian Hodgson's reputation today rests primarily on his contributions as a pioneering scholar of Nepal and the Himalayas. His academic work has stood the test of time, in some cases amazingly well, as other chapters in this collection demonstrate. Throughout his years in Nepal he was, however, first and foremost a diplomat and politician, and here, whilst the difficulties he faced and the energy and conviction he brought to them are undeniable, his role was the subject of great controversy at the time and has continued to be so. One of his earliest critics was Henry Lawrence, his successor at Kathmandu and a man who, ironically, had in common with Hodgson a wider outlook and a more sympathetic attitude towards the people of South Asia than were normal among the East India Company's servants at that time. This account of Hodgson's diplomatic career and the debate surrounding it is largely condensed from the author's earlier study of mid-nineteenth-century Nepalese politics.[1]

The establishment of British hegemony in northern India in the late eighteenth century posed a dilemma for Nepalese decision-makers. It made practical sense to cooperate with the dominant power, particularly because one's domestic rivals might secure that power's backing for themselves. On the other hand, the East India Company's predominance was deeply resented by many inside Nepal so that allying oneself with the British also carried risks. This was seen clearly in the political manoeuvring from 1800 to 1804 as former king Ran Bahadur first vied for British support with the group controlling Kathmandu, then successfully used their collaboration with the British as a weapon against them. After Nepal's defeat in 1816, the dilemma was posed again in an acute form but Bhimsen Thapa, the dominant figure in Nepalese politics since 1806 and the key advocate of war in 1814, found the solution in playing both ends against the middle. He presented himself to his own countrymen as a bulwark against the East India Company and to the Company as the man who could persuade his countrymen to keep the peace. He strictly observed the terms of the 1816 Treaty of Sagauli, including the acceptance of a British Resident, but the peace was a cold one. In sharp contrast to Indian states where the Resident was a de facto supervisor of the administration, in Nepal the Resident's

activities were tightly restricted. He and his staff were not allowed to travel outside the Kathmandu Valley and, they could deal only with Bhimsen himself or with one of his trusted adherents.

This virtual quarantining of the Residency was, however, only possible when one individual or faction was in secure control of the administration. In 1816 and 1817, when Bhimsen's position was shaken by Nepal's defeat, attempts had been made by others to enlist the Residency's backing.[2] They resumed only in January 1833, after Bhimsen had again been weakened by the death of his political ally Queen Regent Lalit Tripura Sundari ten months earlier.

It was in January 1833 that Brian Hodgson was finally appointed Resident in his own right, having been Assistant Resident for most of the 1820s and Acting Resident between Edward Gardner's retirement in 1829 and Herbert Maddock's appointment in 1831.[3] The environment in which he had to work was, of course, very different from that facing a diplomat in a foreign posting today. In an age before the development of electronic communications, the man on the spot frequently had to make his own decision and only later seek official approval: correspondence between the Residency and the government of India in Calcutta was carried by mail runners and a reply to a letter could not normally be received in less than eighteen days. The European community in Kathmandu was also usually a very small one – the Resident, his assistant and a surgeon. Until Honoraria Lawrence's arrival to join her husband Henry in 1844, no white woman had ever entered the Valley and the resident and his colleagues either remained celibate or kept local mistresses; formal marriage between Europeans and South Asians was almost unheard of at this time, though Hodgson's friend and biographer, William Hunter, writes that Hodgson's relationship with 'a Muslim lady' was 'treated like marriage' by both of them as long as she lived.[4] It is indicative of attitudes of the day that Hunter does not mention Begum Meharunnisha by name; her identity is known only from Nepalese sources. Prejudice, of course, went both ways: from the orthodox Hindu viewpoint, the cohabitation of a Christian and a Muslim was acceptable but the union of a Christian or Muslim man with a woman of any Hindu caste would have polluted the whole kingdom.[5]

Apart from a complement of gardeners and domestic servants and an escort of over 100 Indian sepoys, the Resident was supported by several Indian clerks. These handled correspondence in English and in Persian, the latter being the language of official written communication between the Nepalese and British Indian governments until late in the nineteenth century. The Persian section was under the 'Head Munshi', who regularly visited the royal palace on the Resident's behalf. Hodgson himself taught English to at least one Nepalese officer attached to the residency, Lt. Lal Singh Khatri, who later accompanied Jang Bahadur to London.[6] However, knowledge of the language appears to have been non-existent among the Nepalese political elite at this time and even Hindustani, the lingua franca of north India, was normally understood only by those who, like Bhimsen Thapa himself, had spent some time in the plains. Hodgson, of course, could rely on his own fluent Nepali

and rather indignantly once reported how Bhimsen had tried to switch to Hindustani in order to exclude other Nepalese from the conversation!

Despite the difficulties, Hodgson was able to supplement official contacts with covert communication, a task made easier because of the many troops and servants attached to the Residency. Relaxation of restrictions on contacts between these and the local population had begun even before Bhimsen's power was under threat and as Acting Resident in 1831 Hodgson was already 'maintaining a secret intercourse with a member of the Raja's household.'[7] Throughout the 1830s, a number of his letters to Calcutta consisted almost entirely of translations of 'secret intelligence' received and although in the original letters these were always placed in quotation marks, many modern writers fail to distinguish between such passages and those where Hodgson was giving his own opinions. Presumably because he was aware the Nepalese might be doing some spying of their own, he rarely named his informants but did mention in 1840 that the brother-in-law of the head of the Persian correspondence department at the palace was a contact.[8] Hodgson was thus able to collect a lot of information but at the same time there was always the danger of such channels being used to convey what others wanted him to believe.

Hodgson brought to the job of Resident a strong conviction that Nepal's continuing resentment of the loss of a third of her territory after the 1814–1816 war, her isolationist policy and her maintenance of a large standing army were a continuing threat to peace. He thought that this should be removed by encouraging the growth of commerce and by employing the country's 'surplus military manpower' in the East India Company's forces. Though he initially shared the belief of his predecessors that it was best to continue working with Bhimsen Thapa, he soon decided that Nepal's outlook would become more pacific if relations with the British were handled by the young King Rajendra rather than a minister dependent on the goodwill of the army. He did not believe that Bhimsen himself was likely to start a war but feared that, unless the system which he had presided over was reformed, aggression might easily occur once Bhimsen's own restraining hand was removed. Hodgson, therefore, began pressing for direct access to the king and for concessions on trade, including easier access to the Residency for Indian merchants requesting protection as British subjects. Though he made some progress, he was warned by the authorities in Calcutta not to try to influence the relationship between the king and his minister. Hodgson's colleagues in the East India Company's Civil Service did not share his apprehension of military danger from Nepal. Nor did they share his belief that the route through Nepal could be used to market British cotton goods and Canadian firs in China or British woollen goods in Tibet.[9]

Reading Hodgson's correspondence during this period it is clear that his view of Bhimsen Thapa was a fluctuating one, liable to be influenced by his most recent interview. In July 1833 he wrote to the Governor-General in a private letter that 'at the bottom of Bhimsen's profound character I have at last

discerned, as I conceive, an intense hatred of us'.[10] Two months later, however, his attitude suddenly changed as the result of one visit to the palace. In the course of conversation, one of Hodgson's European assistants praised the bravery and patriotism of Amar Singh Thapa, the principal Nepalese commander in the west during the 1814–1816 war and also a political opponent of Bhimsen's. He referred specifically to an intercepted letter of Amar Singh's.[11] This led Bhimsen, when later talking to Hodgson out of the others' hearing, to say that he hoped the Resident did not believe the other parts of the intercepted correspondence, in which Amar Singh and his colleagues had put the whole blame for the war on Bhimsen personally. Hodgson made a soothing reply and Bhimsen went on to say how difficult it had been for him to persuade his fellow Nepalese to keep the peace since 1816. He then promised to provide three or four months' advance warning of an attack should his advice against war be rejected in future. The following day, Hodgson wrote enthusiastically to Calcutta of the need to 'keep Bhim Sen at the helm' and of 'the perfectly satisfactory manner in which every object of the alliance with Nepal has been accomplished under the internally vigorous and just and externally pacific administration of Bhim Sen'.[12] By mid-October, however, the pendulum had swung back again and Hodgson was anticipating with approval the young King Rajendra dismissing Bhimsen and taking affairs into his own hands. The whole sequence illustrates how justified was the comment of a later Governor-General, Lord Auckland: 'Mr Hodgson writes so strongly from slight impressions that I have always looked at his communications with slight reserve.'[13]

Although Hodgson did not at this stage intervene directly in the factional struggle, both his assessment of the situation and sometimes even his negotiating tactics were strongly influenced by Bhimsen's various opponents. He sympathized strongly with Ranjang Pande, who from 1834 onwards emerged as the most virulent among them. Hodgson was particularly inclined to trust Ranjang's Brahman ally, Krishna Ram Mishra, whom he characterized in 1837 as 'a jewel of a man – simple-hearted as a villager'[14] and in whom he was later to be bitterly disappointed. His initial confidence perhaps also stemmed from Krishna Ram's family history. His cousin Gajraj had, at the beginning of the century, been a prominent supporter of Ranjang's father Damodar Pande and of a policy of cooperation with the British, and had also been involved in peace negotiations at the end of the Anglo-Gorkha war. When Bhimsen himself sought to buttress his position by moving closer to the British, Hodgson in effect aided Ranjang, Mishra and the others by ensuring that no substantive negotiations took place during a mission to Calcutta led by Bhimsen's nephew, Mathbar Singh, between 1835 and 1836. This move also led Mathbar to abandon his intention of travelling on to London, a project which was finally to be undertaken by Jang Bahadur Rana in 1850.

In 1837, events took a dramatic turn with the arrest of Bhimsen on suspicion of involvement in the death of King Rajendra's infant son; the child had allegedly drunk poison intended for his mother, Senior Queen Samrajya Laksmi, who was a backer of Ranjang. There had long been similar allegations that

Bhimsen had poisoned Rajendra's father, King Girvana Yuddha and his queen in 1816 to ensure the continuance of Lalit Tripura Sundari's regency and of his own predominance. There appears to have been no hard evidence to support the 1816 allegations and for that of 1837 only a confession obtained under torture from a palace physician.[15] However, the charges were believed by Queen Samrajya herself and Hodgson also suspected they might be true. When the king asked for his advice, he recommended that Bhimsen be kept in custody whilst investigations continued.

Bhimsen's fall did not bring the warmer relations Hodgson had hoped for, since King Rajendra himself and Ranjang Pande's faction were ready to capitalize on anti-British feeling both at home and among other independent Indian states. In summer 1838, Hodgson accordingly transferred his sympathies to the Poudyal brothers, Brahmans whose family had long been rivals with the Mishras for appointment as *guru* (spiritual preceptor) to members of the royal family. The eldest of them, Rangnath, *guru* to Samrajya, had been amongst those trying to solicit Edward Gardner's support against Bhimsen when the Residency had first been established in 1816. He was also one of the 'king's men' who had made the approaches to the Residency in the early 1830s and, as Hodgson saw it, had tried to trick him into partisanship.[16] Not surprisingly, therefore, Hodgson had a cynically realistic attitude towards the Poudyals, having characterized them in 1833 as 'men of the world who have been ours, aforetime, *for a consideration* and are ready to be again on like terms'.[17] Nevertheless he formed a particularly close relationship with the second brother, Krishna Ram Poudyal, frequently reporting and seconding his opinions in letters to the Governor-General. The replacement of Krishna Ram Mishra by another Brahman confidante with the same personal names has, not surprisingly, led to a certain amount of confusion in later accounts.

During 1839, moves by Ranjang's faction threatened the financial interests and even the personal safety of much of the nobility and many looked to the Residency for political support. In April, Bhimsen Thapa was re-arrested on the poisoning charges and in July he committed suicide in prison. According to the official report of the Nepalese officials who brought Hodgson the news, he wept on hearing it.[18] In reporting the event to Calcutta he penned an oft-quoted tribute to his old adversary:

> Thus has perished the great and able statesman who for more than thirty years had ruled this kingdom with more than regal sway . . . [Until 1837] the uniform success of nearly all his measures had been no less remarkable than the energy and sagacity which so much promoted that success. Nor am I aware of any native statesman of recent times, except Ranjit Singh, who is . . . worthy to be compared with the late General Bhim Sen of Nepal.[19]

Hodgson had, at first, refused Bhimsen's smuggled plea to intervene on his behalf, believing initially that to do so would be counter-productive and also

that he was himself bound by government instructions not to interfere in the factional struggle. He eventually changed his mind and requested the Governor-General's permission to speak out but the end came before a reply could be received. Thirteen years after the event, Orfeur Cavenagh, Jang Bahadur Rana's escort on his European travels, wrote in his *Rough Notes on the State of Nepal* that he had often heard it said Hodgson refused to speak out on Bhimsen's behalf when a single word from him could have saved the man.[20] Archibald Campbell, Hodgson's former assistant, asked his old superior for information on the point so that he could publicly refute the slur. In reply Hodgson referred to Campbell's own presence at 'that solemn debate where I made a last attempt to save the poor man'.[21] This must, however, have been at a much earlier stage in the proceedings than the final trial, since Campbell had left Kathmandu some months before Bhimsen's death. Hodgson now made no mention of his silence in the final few weeks and perhaps felt a little ashamed that he had not done more, especially as he had taken a very robust attitude to government instructions on other occasions.

Instability continued into 1840, and Ranjang Pande was appointed minister after the king had learned of the outbreak of hostilities between Britain and China at Canton the previous autumn. In April, Nepalese forces occupied 200 square miles of British territory in Champaran district and in June there was a brief army mutiny in Kathmandu, caused in the first place by continuing attempts to cut military salaries but also probably instigated by Ranjang's faction. The houses of several leading *bharadars* were attacked but, contrary to what Hodgson himself maintained in later life, there does not seem to have been any pre-concerted plot to attack the Residency even though some of the soldiers did make threatening moves towards it after an argument with one of the sepoys of the Resident's escort.[22] Hodgson subsequently obtained the text of messages which had purportedly been passed between the mutinous regiments and the king and queen. The authenticity of the documents has been challenged but Hodgson's detailed account of his sources suggest they are genuine, even if the message from the palace was not directly authorized by the king and queen personally. The notes provide a vivid picture of the state of feeling within the army at the time and of the background against which Hodgson had to work:

> [Palace note] The English government is mighty, abounding in wealth and in all other resources for war. I have kept well with the English for so long because unable to cope with them. Besides, I am bound by a treaty of amity and have no excuse now to break it. Nor have I money to support a war. Troops I have and arms and ammunition in plenty, but no money: and just now the marriages of my sons are costing me more than I know where to get. This is the reason why I have reduced your pay. I want treasure to fight the English. Take lower pay for a year or two, and when I have completed the marriages and got money in hand, I will throw off the mask and indulge you

> with a war. But now the English are my friends, and they have done me no harm. Again the bharadars [Chiefs] complain that you have plundered and insulted them. What answer must I make?
>
> [Reply from the regiment which led the disturbances] True, the English government is great, but care the *bwanses* [wild dogs] how large is the herd? They attack! They are sure to fill their bellies. You want no money for making war. The war shall support itself. We will plunder Lucknow or Patna; but first we must be rid of the Resident. He sees and foretells all. We must be able, unseen, to watch the moment of attack. It will soon come. It is come. Give the word and we will destroy the Resident, and then war will follow of course. You want no excuse for war. There is one ready made. Let us operate unseen, and we will soon make the Ganges your boundary. Or, if the English want peace and are your friends, as you say, why do they keep possession of half your dominions? Let them restore Kumaon and Sikkim. Demand them back, and, if they are not given, drive out the Resident. You talk too of your Chiefs and their wrongs. Of what use are the Chiefs? We want none. We will be Chiefs and soldiers too. The Chiefs shall no longer do business with the Resident. The *Munsi* is enough and occasionally the minister, but no others. In the Thapa's time [Bhimsen] it was so. Let it be so again. Nor should your Highness any more than the Chiefs do business with the Resident. Leave it to the *Munsi* and to Ranjung [the minister]. So it used to be. So it must be again.[23]

Two ultimatums from the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, now secured the evacuation of the occupied territory. On Hodgson's recommendation, Auckland authorized him to demand in addition that the king dismiss Ranjang and his associates and appoint new advisors friendly to the British, a policy which had been proposed the previous year by the Governor-General's council but rejected then as premature by both Auckland and Hodgson himself. After despatching an expeditionary force to install a new king in Afghanistan in response to a perceived threat from Russia, Auckland was not in a position to fight a full-scale campaign against Nepal, but the movement of troops closer to the border and Hodgson's negotiations secured the appointment by the beginning of 1841 of the so-called 'British ministry'. This was headed by Fateh Jang Shah, a *chauntara* (collateral relative of the royal family) and also included both Krishna Ram Mishra and his more prominent brother, Rangnath. Fateh Jang had already been appointed *mukhtiyar* at the beginning of November, but the formal British demands ensured a complete change of key personnel in a situation when Rajendra would have preferred to have members of both factions in office.

Hodgson was active in support of the new administration, which continued until 1842, his task being eased by the death of the Senior Queen in October 1841 but complicated by the emergence onto the political stage of her son,

Crown Prince Surendra. The latter, though still a minor, was beginning to clash with his father and also to commit violent acts against others, sometimes with fatal results: in May 1842 the Residency diary records that one of Surendra's wives, a girl of only nine years, died after he had made her stand all day in a tank of water at the palace.[24] Here was one individual who certainly deserved Sylvain Lévi's general verdict on the Nepalese kings of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century: '[Ils] appartiennent plus à la pathologie qu'à l'histoire.'[25] It is, however, also possible that he was at times encouraged in his erratic behaviour by the king as a means of harassing the ministers without directly confronting them or their British protectors. Surendra also found support from Ranjang's ousted faction.

In April 1842 Hodgson was involved in a public clash with both Surendra and King Rajendra over a British subject who was party to a commercial dispute with a Nepalese and who had taken refuge at the Residency. The king arrived at the head of a regiment of soldiers, demanding that the merchant be handed over. A Nepalese court had in fact disposed of the case some years before and it concerned a transaction on British territory between two British subjects. Hodgson accordingly refused to give up the man, at one point putting his arms around him and exclaiming, 'You take both of us or neither!'[26]. Surendra then called on his father to use force, but the ministers were finally able to defuse the situation. A compromise was reached under which Hodgson referred the matter for decision by the Governor-General, whilst Kashinath agreed to attend the court and Fateh Jang and Ranganath accepted responsibility for his personal safety.

Both the ministers and Hodgson now wanted Calcutta to take a very strong line against the king but the new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, who was at Allahabad away from his council of advisors when news of the affair reached him, thought that Hodgson had gone too far. Instead of providing a stern rebuke for Rajendra, he sent only a letter even-handedly blaming both sides and suggesting there had been a misunderstanding.[27] Hodgson was unwilling to hand this over to Rajendra as instructed, believing it would critically weaken the ministers' position. He immediately wrote demi-officially to his old superior, Henry Maddock, now the Foreign Secretary, making an impassioned plea for reconsideration:

> For God's sake, do not distrust your old tried Resident whose every act heretofore you have applauded . . . for God's sake don't trust the Raja whose every act heretofore you have denounced . . . , Remember that what has been achieved here with so much applause of the Governor-General in Council has been achieved by and through the Ministers and against the Raja, and that to show the least distrust of the former so that the latter may perceive it, may be the death warrant or signal of disgrace of one or more of those whose good faith to us has been as conspicuous as the bad faith of the Raja.[28]

In the meantime, Hodgson had begun a damage limitation exercise, which he continued even after learning that Ellenborough could not be persuaded to change his mind. To his Nepalese allies, disappointed at the non-arrival of the firm backing they were expecting from Calcutta, he merely hinted at the softer line the Governor-General was in fact taking. On 11 June he finally sent the king a suitably edited version of Ellenborough's letter.[29] After further negotiation he managed to extract from Rajendra on 22 June a letter of apology to the Governor-General for the April incident and ensured that the Indian merchant was allowed to return to Banaras.[30]

Ellenborough, however, was now even surer that the whole relationship between Hodgson and the Nepalese court was fundamentally wrong and that support for the 'British ministry' weakened rather than strengthened the British position. When he finally learned that Hodgson had disobeyed his direct order, his reaction was explosive. On 21 June he wrote to him announcing that he would be relieved of his post at the earliest practical moment. Within twenty-four hours, he relented, requesting Hodgson to keep the previous day's letter 'a profound secret', but still implying that he would be relieved in due course.[31] After lengthy correspondence over the following weeks, Ellenborough finally decided to allow him to remain in Kathmandu to carry out a policy of disengagement from his alliance with the ministers on the understanding that he would quit his post at the end of 1843.[32] Although the blow had thus been softened a little, Hodgson remained angry and indignant at Ellenborough's failure to back his judgement in 1842 and was to remain almost obsessed with the issue for the rest of his life.[33]

Hodgson did not immediately inform his allies of this change of British policy but had to do so in September, when, alarmed by the growing influence of Surendra and the Pandes' role as his allies, they asked him to intervene once again. The language in which the discussion was reported to Calcutta was obscure even by Hodgsonian standards; he told Fateh Jang that he could not take direct action to help him but promised that he 'should not seek to withhold from him the indirect support of my Government's auspices'.[34] Although the Poudyals appeared to accept his new situation with equanimity, Fateh Jang and his brother, Guru Prasad, felt that they had been let down and afterwards there was a growing divergence between their political line and that of the *gurus*. However, the success of a British punitive expedition to Afghanistan in the spring meant that any overt Nepalese hostility was highly unlikely, even though in July Ranjang's cousin had been included in the regular five-yearly mission to Beijing, reportedly with an appeal for Chinese help against the British.[35] In addition, the Pandes met with a decisive check in October when evidence emerged that they had been responsible for the rumour that the Senior Queen's death the previous autumn had been due to poisoning. Several of them (though not Ranjang himself) were tried and severely punished.

Nevertheless, the apparent struggle between Rajendra and Surendra continued as did Surendra's violence against the *bharadars*. The result was the 'National Movement' of December 1842, a concerted effort by most of

the nobility with backing from the army to make King Rajendra curtail the excesses of Surendra and grant authority to the Junior Queen, Rajya Laksmi. Hodgson was an enthusiastic observer of this development and convinced himself that the queen was the potential saviour of the situation. When it transpired that no clear-cut transfer of powers had been made, Hodgson blamed the *chauntara* brothers, Fateh Jang Shah and Guru Prasad, for sabotaging the common endeavour and instead aiding Rajendra.

After the inconclusive end to the 'National Movement', opinion in the royal family and among the *bharadari* swung in favour of allowing the return of Bhimsen's nephew, Mathbar Singh Thapa. Since 1838, he had been in India, simultaneously protesting his friendship to the British and also writing to Kathmandu about the possibility of securing an anti-British alliance with the Sikhs. Whilst Mathbar was waiting across the border at Gorakhpur, pondering whether it was safe for him to return home, Hodgson sought to influence him in favour of Rajya Laksmi rather than King Rajendra. Knowing that Mathbar strongly distrusted him because of his failure to save Bhimsen, he asked the Gorakhpur district magistrate to relay this advice as if it were the magistrate's own. He used the same channel to try to allay Mathbar's suspicions:

> 'Ere [Mathbar Singh] leaves you, make him understand *in private* that I am his sincere friend and have great hopes that his experience of the world will make him a valuable and useful man well disposed towards the British Government. Such are scant here and the Chountaras have disappointed the Queen and country and me too . . . But all you need say – and try to *impress* it – is that *I* am his real friend, as he will better know by and by.[36] (Emphases in original)

Hodgson's appeals were sent in demi-official correspondence which was almost certainly not copied to the government of India in Calcutta. Neither the Governor-General, nor Hodgson himself, provided Mathbar with the direct guarantee of his future safety that he asked them for.

In April 1843 Mathbar nevertheless did return to Nepal and, the following month, Hodgson sought Ellenborough's permission to remain in the country until 1844. This was ostensibly to complete a general study of the country on which he was now working, but a story still current in Kathmandu's Muslim community suggests another reason may have been the birth of a third child to Begum Meharunnisha, with whom he had been living since the mid-1830s.[37] Although King Rajendra, with the agreement of the leading courtiers, took the unusual step of writing to ask the Governor-General to allow the extension, Ellenborough insisted on his departure and offered him the post of Assistant Sub-Commissioner at Simla. Hodgson took the offer of such a junior position as an insult, compounding the one he had suffered the year before, and he now resigned from the Bengal Civil Service. He was given an impressive send-off by the Nepalese court on 5 December 1843 and sailed for England from Calcutta the following February.

Genuine affection was behind some of the tears shed by leading *bharadars* on Hodgson's departure but less personal considerations also played a role. Although Hodgson assured Ellenborough that the Nepalese believed the story that he was leaving for health reasons,[38] they certainly suspected something else was involved. Shortly after his arrival in Kathmandu, his successor, Sir Henry Lawrence, reported that King Rajendra and many others believed 'the late Resident was removed from Nepal for saving the country from invasion . . . and that I had been sent a sort of punishment to them and to Mr Hodgson'.[39] In addition, despite Hodgson's attempt since summer 1842 to appear neutral, there were still many who had hoped to press him into alliance again.

After spending time with his family in Europe, Hodgson returned in 1845 to South Asia to continue his research in the Himalayas. As the Government of India would not allow him to return in a private capacity to Kathmandu, he settled instead at Darjeeling. Here, he kept in close touch with developments in Nepal, receiving a detailed account from one of the Residency Clerks of the death of Fateh Jang and many other prominent *bharadars* in the 'Kot Massacre' which brought Jang Bahadur to power in 1846.[40] Hodgson shared the initial suspicion of Jang that was general amongst British officials. However, friendly contact was established in or before 1856 when he agreed to Jang's request to take charge of the education of his son-in-law, Gajraj Thapa. The young man stayed in Darjeeling for about a year, returning home when the first news of the outbreak of the 'Indian Mutiny' was received.[41] From Nepal, Thapa corresponded with Hodgson on Jang's behalf, asking him to help persuade the Governor-General, Lord Canning, to accept Jang Bahadur's offer personally to lead a Nepalese force into India to assist in suppression of the rebels.[42] As a long-time advocate of military dependence on Nepalese hillmen rather than high-caste *madheshi* sepoys, Hodgson complied with the request, arguing in Calcutta in the autumn that Jang Bahadur's personal experience of Britain in 1850 made him a reliable partner now. Whether or not his intervention was as decisive as he himself later claimed, it must have helped overcome the grave doubts many felt about Jang's offer. It was, in any case, Hodgson's last contribution to Britain–Nepal relations as a breakdown in his wife's health forced their permanent return to Europe at the end of the year.

In any evaluation of Hodgson's career as a whole, it is his work as Resident, and particularly his role in the 1840s, which is crucial and the controversies of that time have continued to exercise historians. It must be said first that Hodgson did succeed in keeping the peace, and war with Nepal, which Auckland had thought likely to come, was avoided. As has been seen, it was certainly believed in Kathmandu that he had saved the country from a clash with British India which would have ended its independence. Hodgson's popularity amongst his own colleagues, and later, the sympathetic biography by a personal friend, William Hunter, also ensured a high regard in Britain for his contribution. However, recent studies have modified Hunter's portrait of him as the complete master of events in Kathmandu.[43] His sudden enthusiasms

left him open to manipulation by Nepalese politicians, whose own alignment with the British was, as Lord Auckland clearly saw, only a matter of tactical convenience. There is also much to be said for the view of Lord Ellenborough and of Henry Lawrence, that the East India Company's interests were better served by simple reliance on its own military strength than by involvement in factional politics. The 'British ministers' of 1840–1842 were in some ways a liability rather than an asset to the Company since they were so heavily dependent on overt British backing rather than bringing strength of their own to the alliance. It could be argued in reply that once Lord Auckland had decided in 1840 to demand changes in men as well as measures, some kind of British guarantee was needed to give 'good' men the courage to stand forward. In addition, once the initial commitment had been made, political stability in Nepal might have been better served by sticking to it. After 1846, Hodgson and his apologists cited the Kot Massacre as proof that Ellenborough's 1842 decision had been a grave mistake.[44] Over the longer term, though, Jang Bahadur, the man brought to power by the massacre, saw his interest in collaboration with the British and thereby vindicated Ellenborough and Lawrence. The Nepalese political system was to find its own political equilibrium and geopolitical reality, not manipulation by any Resident, would ensure that the new ruler cooperated with his southern neighbour.

Notes

1 John Whelpton, *Kings, Soldiers and Priests,* New Delhi: Manohar, 1991.
2 Ibid., p. 42.
3 He had been Assistant Resident in 1820–1822, then taken up an appointment in Calcutta but returned to Kathmandu for health reasons, serving as Post-master until the Assistant Resident's post again became vacant in 1825. Maddock actually left Nepal in December 1832.
4 William Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, London: John Murray, 1896.
5 Francis Hamilton, *Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1986 [1819], pp. 20–21, describes the elaborate expiation ceremony he witnessed after a polluting incident of this kind in 1803.
6 Khatri's career is discussed in John Whelpton, *Jang Bahadur in Europe*, Kathmandu: Sahayogi, 1983, pp. 132–133, and his letter to the *Illustrated London News* (27/7/1850), possibly the first publication in English by a Nepalese, is reprinted on p. 244.
7 Hodgson to Government, 28 November 1831, NR/5/43.
8 Hodgson to Government, 18 August 1840, Foreign Secret (hereafter FS), 31 August 1840, published in Ludwig Stiller (ed.), *The Kot Massacre*, Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1981, pp. 25–26.
9 Jahar Sen, *Indo-Nepal Trade in the Nineteenth Century*, Calcutta: Firma Mukhopadhyaya, 1977, pp. 30–31. The East India Company had been strongly interested in the prospects for trans-Himalayan trade through Nepal in the late eighteenth and very early nineteenth century but it had ceased to be a major consideration by the time of the 1814–1816 war (see John Pemble, *The Invasion of Nepal*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971, pp. 54–89; see also Whelpton, 1991, p. 40.)
10 Hodgson to Bentinck, July 1833, NR/5/44.

11 Published in Henry T. Prinsep, *History of the Political and Military Transactions during the Administration of the Marquess of Hastings*, London: Kingbury, Parbury & Alen, 1825, vol. 1, Appendix.
12 Hodgson to Swinton, 4 September 1833, NR/5/44.
13 Auckland to Roberts, 3 March 1840, Private Book, vol. 9, p. 52, quoted in Kanchanmoy Mojumdar, 'Indo-Nepalese Relations, 1837–77', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, New Delhi: School of International Studies, 1962.
14 Hodgson to MacNaghten, 19 August 1837, NR/5/48.
15 According to information received at the time by the British Residency, Girvana Yuddha actually died from smallpox in an epidemic in November 1816 and his wife from a miscarriage the following month.
16 Hodgson to Government, 28 January 1834, NR/5/44.
17 Hodgson to Government, 2 December 1833, Foreign Political, 19 December 1833. Italics in original.
18 Gyanmani Nepal, 'Jangbahadurko Bideshniti', *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 1981, vol. 8, no. 2, p. 78.
19 Hodgson to Secretary with Governor-General, 30 July 1839, FS, 18 December 1839, No. 82, quoted in Hunter, 1896, p. 176. Ranjit Singh, ruler of the Sikh kingdom of the Panjab, had blocked the Gorkhali's westward drive along the Himalayas 30 years earlier.
20 Orfeur Cavenagh, *Rough Notes on the State of Nepal*, Calcutta: W. Palmer, 1851, p. 222.
21 Hodgson to Campbell, 17 September 1852, Eng. Hist. MSS c.262, Bodleian Library, pp. 111ff.
22 Hunter, 1896, pp. 184–188. The discrepancies between this and Hodgson's own account to Calcutta at the time are discussed in Whelpton, 1991, pp. 80–81.
23 Foreign Secret, 20 July 1840, No. 59. The origin and reliability of the documents are discussed in Whelpton, 1991, pp. 81–83.
24 J.T. Wheeler (ed.), *Diary of Events in Nepal 1841 to 1846*, Simla: Government Printing Press, 1878, entry for 17 May 1842.
25 Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal – étude historique d'une royaume hindoue*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905–1908, vol. 1, p. 24.
26 Hodgson, 'Private Note', quoted in Hunter, 1896, p. 209.
27 Secretary with Governor-General to Hodgson, 8 May 1842, FS, August 1842, No. 67, quoted in Hunter, 1896, p. 211.
28 Hodgson to Maddock (DO), 16 May 1842, FS, 3 August 1842, No. 88, published in Stiller (ed.), *The Kot Massacre*, Kathmandu: Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, 1981, p. 143–144.
29 Hodgson to Secretary with Governor-General, 12 June 1842, FS, 7 September 1842, No. 83.
30 Ellenborough to Secret Committee, 8 July 1842, Despatch No. 21 of 1842, published in Stiller (ed.), 1981, pp. 152–154; Ramakant, *Indo-Nepalese Relations 1816–1877*, Delhi: S. Chand, 1968, p. 205.
31 Secretary with Governor-General to Hodgson, 21 June 1842, quoted in Hunter, 1896, p. 212; Maddock to Hodgson (DO), quoted in Hunter, 1896, p. 217.
32 Secretary with Governor-General to Hodgson, 8 August 1842, FS, 19 October 1842, No. 64; Hunter, 1896, pp. 220–221; Ellenborough to Hodgson, 24 October 1842, FS, 8 March 1843, No. 87, in Stiller (ed.), 1981, pp. 164–165.
33 See David Waterhouse (Chapter 1).
34 Hodgson to Government, 11 September 1842, FS, 5 October 1842, No. 148, published in Stiller (ed.), 1981, pp. 162–163.
35 Nicholette, 'Events at the Court of Nepal 1840–51', in B.J. Hasrat (ed.), *The History of Nepal as Told by Her Own and Contemporary Chroniclers*, Hoshiarpur: V.V. Research Institute, 1970, p. 314; see also Ramakant, 1968, p. 200.

36 Hodgson to Reade (demi-official), 31 January 1843, NR/5/125.
37 See Harihar Raj Joshi (Chapter 3).
38 Hodgson to Ellenborough, 17 July 1843, FS, 19 August 1843, published in Stiller (ed.), 1981, pp. 202–203.
39 Lawrence to Government, 13 December 1843, FS, 27 January 1844, published in Stiller (ed.), 1981, pp. 207–208.
40 Ganpat Sahai to Hodgson, 15 October 1846, Hodgson Correspondence, Royal Asiatic Society.
41 Hodgson, 'Recollections', Eng. Hist, MSS c. 262, Bodleian Library, p. 210; Hunter, 1896, p. 255. Hodgson inaccurately describes Thapa as Jang Bahadur's 'heir-apparent' and Hunter compounds the error by using the phrase 'heir-apparent to the throne', which could cause confusion with King Surendra's son, Crown Prince Trailokya. The Crown Prince in fact married two of Jang's daughters, but the first was in June 1857 when he was only nine years old!
42 Gajraj Thapa to Hodgson, 28 June 1857, Hodgson Papers, Bodleian Library, vol. 9, pp. 92–93.
43 In addition to works already cited (Mojumdar, 1962; Ramakant, 1968; Stiller (ed.), 1981; Whelpton, 1991), other archive-based studies of Hodgson's role published over the last forty years include: Leo E. Rose, *Nepal: Strategy for Survival*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971; M.S. Jain, *The Emergence of a New Aristocracy in Nepal,* Agra: Sri Ram Mehra, 1972; Kanchanmoy Mojumdar, *Anglo-Nepalese Relations in the Nineteenth Century*, Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1973; and K.L. Pradhan, *Brian Hodgson at the Kathmandu Residency 1825–1843*, Guhati and Delhi: Spectrum, 2001.
44 In a marginal comment on the account of the 1846 Kot Massacre by his former assistant, Thomas Smith (*Narrative of a Five Years' Residence at Nepaul from 1841 to 1845*, London: Colburn, 1852, vol. 2, p. 104), Hodgson wrote: 'these same doings . . . demonstrate the folly of Lord Ellenborough's prate about the Resident's subservience to the Ministers'. The copy is now in the India Office section of the British Library.

3

BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON – THE UNSUNG STORY

Harihar Raj Joshi

Hodgson in Kathmandu society

Hodgson's achievements as a scholar in Nepal and also his diplomatic and political role are treated elsewhere in this volume. Here the focus is on his manner of living and on the personal relationships he established during twenty years of residence in Kathmandu. There is, of course, evidence for these in Hodgson's own correspondence and in Hunter's biography but these well-known sources can be supplemented with oral tradition still preserved in Nepal. Stories handed down through generations are admittedly highly susceptible to exaggeration and distortion, but, used judiciously, they provide a valuable supplement to the view offered by Hodgson and Hunter.

Despite the various restrictions imposed on the British, their presence in the Kathmandu Valley was a high-profile one. The Residency compound was an extensive one of around fifty acres, including the grounds on which both the British and Indian Embassies now stand, outside but not too distant from the old city of Kathmandu. There was a church attached to the main building and other features included a hot house, a miniature zoo and a bird sanctuary, with a tiger, a wild sheep, a wild goat (or, according to another account, a yak), four bears, three civets and sixty of those lovely pheasants that flash past like great jewels in the hill, as company for Hodgson and his colleagues. The surrounding district is now known as Lainchaur, from the English 'lines', the name normally given to British enclaves throughout India.[1]

Lainchaur was then a small world of its own but the Resident could venture beyond it and the image of Hodgson on horseback made a particularly strong impression on folk memory. He took his daily ride on a dark black Arabian horse and local people used to remark on *kaalo ghoraa maa kuire bhaaju* (the white gentleman on the dark black horse). They christened this tall and handsome animal the 'Black Prince' and a retired airline pilot in Kathmandu, who heard the story from his mother and father, recalls the same name being given to the horse he himself rode as a student forty-five years ago during summer holidays at Matheran, a hill station near Bombay.[2] Who knows if

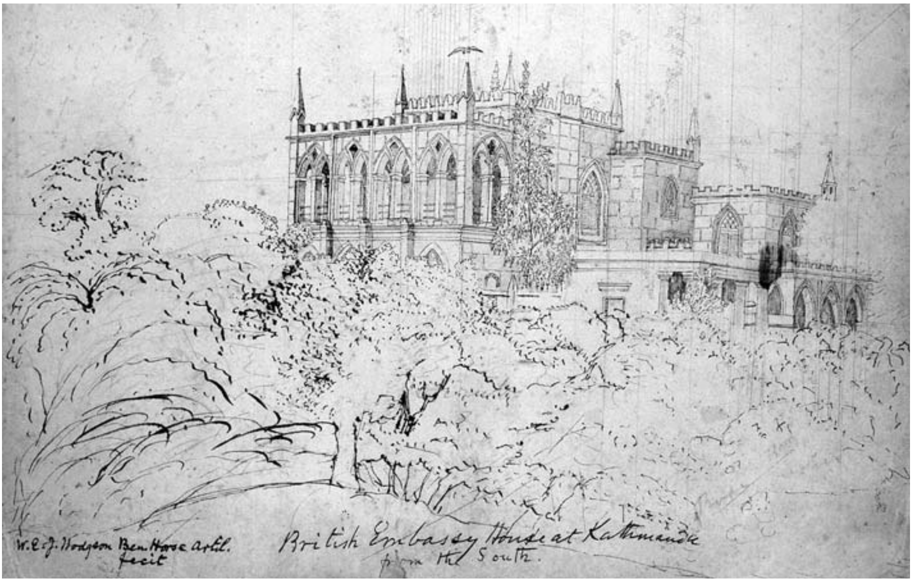


Figure 3.1 The Residence at Kathmandu, drawing by Lieut. W.E. Hodgson, Bengal Horse Artillery, brother to Brian Hodgson, *c.*1833. Hodgson Scrapbook pl. 17, NHM.

Hodgson was not smiling somewhere beyond the sun at the thought of his mount's namesake still treading the hills?

Hodgson used to cover the route from his residence at *Lain khyeo*, the present-day Lainchaur, via *Pyaakwa phanta* (the wet land), the present-day Nayabazar where my own family now live. He sometimes also visited *Sumpyan don*, where hay used to be dried before a shift in the course of the River Vishnumati changed it into wetland and above which the *Nanakamatha*, a Sikh Gurudwara, stands to this day. From there he would ride directly to Nagarjun hill, which figures in local legends relating to Manjushree and Atisha Dipankar. Another route was along the road leading through Balaju to Nuwakot and Trisuli via Kakani, where Bhimsen Thapa, in a period of cordiality in the mid-1830s, built a bungalow for Hodgson to relax or study in a calm and quiet atmosphere.[3]

Bhimsen himself is said to have sometimes ridden with Hodgson to Kakani, his own dark brown Arab horse, well-known by the name Red Prince, making a striking sight alongside Black Prince. The memory of this appears to have been preserved in the family of Bachchu, the trainer who taught my own children twenty-five years ago at our home in Baluwatar. Bachchu's forefathers had also been horse trainers and walked alongside the sons of high-ranking officials as they rode. He related a story, apparently dating from this time, of how some very high-ranking officials, including the then *Gorkhali* (Nepali)

Army General and even the *Mukhatiyar* (Prime Minister) and other prominent Nepalis used to ride along with a *layenako yekadama dayaku angreja saheb* (very kind-hearted English gentleman from the British Residency), who gave tips in cash and kind.

Bhimsen and Hodgson would also ride by the *Dharahara*, the tower constructed by Bhimsen in front of his own residence, the celebrated *Baghdarbar*. The tower, now flanked by the General Post Office and the Telephone Exchange, was fourteen storeys high when first built but, after its collapse in an earthquake in autumn 1833, Bhimsen rebuilt it with only nine storeys.[4] Hodgson is supposed to have commented to Bhimsen on the necessity of applying either practical knowledge or scientific theory in constructions of this type.

According to oral tradition in Kathmandu, it was on another of their rides together that Bhimsen told Hodgson of his own desire to visit Britain, although there is no mention of it in British Residency records. The story may thus be a garbled recollection of the proposal for a visit by Bhimsen's nephew Mathabarsingh Thapa who, like Jang Bahadur Rana, is also said to have been another of Hodgson's riding companions. The idea of Mathabar going was broached informally to Hodgson when he was watching the *mhenphi jatra* procession with the king and courtiers on 27 April 1835.[5] Mathabar did travel to Calcutta at the end of the year but, once it was clear that he would not be able to discuss political matters directly with the British government, he abandoned the plan.[6]

Also still current is the story that on another riding excursion Hodgson suggested to General Bhimsen Thapa that his son, Bhimbirsingh (or Bhimbarsen), be sent to England for his education. Hodgson is said to have called the boy by the English name 'Harry', and Bhimsen to have interpreted this as the divine name, *Hari*. After Bhimbir's death at a very early age, Hodgson is said to have made a similar suggestion concerning the great nephew who Bhimsen then adopted.[7] Again, there may perhaps be confusion here as Jang Bahadur's son-in-law was some years later to learn English under Hodgson's own tutelage in Darjeeling.

On the intellectual side, Hodgson 'had the great fortune to attract the friendship of the greatest Pandit in Nepal, a friendship which grew into a reverential affection on both sides'.[8] This was Pandit Amritananda, direct descendant of the famous Tantrik Master Mahapandit Jayamuni Shakyabhikshu and grandson of Pandit Abhayaraj, who had started the construction of *Mahabauddha* Temple in Lalitpur. As well as facilitating Hodgson's Buddhist studies and enabling him to amass such a large and varied collection of ancient Sanskrit manuscripts in Nepal,[9] Amritananda was an accomplished scholar in his own right. He was the redactor of Ashvaghosa's *Buddhacarita,* a life of the Buddha in verse dating from the first century AD, which he supplemented with four extra quatrains. In addition, he wrote a history of Nepal in Sanskrit, which Hodgson himself translated into Persian.[10] Hodgson is also said to have translated the history into English.

Amritananda lived in Patan's *Thainatol*, near the *Mahabauddha* Temple. He acted as Hodgson's guide to the city's monuments and sacred dance performances, such as the famous *asthamatrika* and *kattikapyakham*. It is said that on one occasion, when walking through Darbar Square with Amritananda after a visit to his home, Hodgson stopped at the *dabali*, the large open space where the *kattikapyakham* used to be staged. When he was about to sit down on a small mound on the *dabali*, Pandit Amritananada stopped him, explaining that the mount's tantric power made anyone who sat there uncomfortable for a long time. Hodgson had in fact experienced that sort of feeling before and, on asking for an explanation, was told that the effect was caused by the crown of the god *Narasimha* which was stored there in an inverted position. Later, a ceremony was held at the site and the crown placed the right way up, but, as an extra precaution, the mound was fenced off from the public.

Various other stories are told about information Hodgson discovered with his friend's help. One concerns an image of *Bisiddhi Ganesh* ('rascally' Ganesh) which supposedly misused its magic power to cause passers-by to drop their loads of grain or oil or to make ladies' saris come loose. Hodgson is said to have learned about this, on Amritananda's suggestion, from Daivajnaraj Joshi, a famous astrologer from *Ikhalukhu* in Patan. Hodgson subsequently talked with his Brahman friends about this image, said by some to be situated at *Chikanmugala* near the Hanuman Dhoka palace. I have also heard that Amritananda explained to him about the significance of the Hindus using the right hand (but not the index finger) to count their prayer beads, whilst the Tibetans used the left hand.

At the request of Hodgson, Amritananda compiled a number of reference guides, including *Dharmakoshasamgraha* (Collection of the Treasures of the Law) in which Amritananda wrote about the *Viharas* (former monasteries inhabited by the 'householder monks' of the Shakya and Vajracharya castes) and their builders. A note on folio 76 of the manuscript explains that it was written 'on Sahib's instructions' while on the cover are the words *yo belayata gayera ayeko* (this has come back after being in England).[11] When his friend wrote his *Naipaliyadevata kalyanam* (Good Fortune of the Divinities of Nepal), Hodgson translated it and had it published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1843.

Amritananda also assisted Hodgson in his study of Sanskrit, Nepali and Newari. Although Nepali was then, as now, the language of the governing elite, the majority of the inhabitants of the Valley were Newars and, because of their importance in commerce, Newari was regularly used in Kathmandu by Kashmiri or Tibetan traders. Those Kashmiri and other Muslims who were permanent residents of the Valley were completely fluent in it. Its status as a lingua franca among business people earned it the title in Nepali of *Lakshmiko bhasha*, the language of the Goddess of Prosperity. Hodgson was, therefore, especially keen to master the language and had Amritananda compile a Newari grammar and lexicon for him.[12] Hodgson would also at times speak in Newari rather than

Nepali to Khardar Jit Mohan Man (Singh) and other members of his local staff, as well as probably using it with visitors to the Residency.

There is evidence that Hodgson could put his Newari to good diplomatic use. In a note provided to his biographer, Hodgson describes how one night in summer 1840 he was detained at the palace as the queen 'grew angry and offensive' but managed eventually to make her laugh so that 'under the cover of the momentary good humour the Raja carried me off'.[13] A story still current in Kathmandu is that the cause of the laughter was Hodgson's pronunciation of the Newari word *lani* (queen), which is easily confused with *la nhi* (wait for), *laahni* (it takes time) or *la(n) nhi* (will be right). Queen Samrajyalakshmi was the daughter of a *zamindar* from Gorakhpur in the Indian plains, but she was married at a very young age and had probably acquired some knowledge of Newari, as well as learning *Parbatiya,* as Nepali was then called.

Meharunnisha Begum

Newari was probably the language in which Hodgson established 'a domestic connection with a Musalim lady, which, although not amounting to marriage in the legal sense, was strictly observed as such by both parties as long as she lived, and extended over twenty years'.[14] Assuming Hunter's statements are accurate, the mistress, Meharunnisha Begum must have died before Hodgson's marriage to Anne Scott in 1853. Since in October 1833 Hodgson complained to his sister of having to live 'without wife, children or the presence of a female',[15] we can also conclude the relationship began at the end of 1833.

According to one oral tradition, Hodgson's khardar (clerk/secretary) Jit Mohan, helped to bring Meharunnisha and Hodgson together. She seems also to have been well known to Amritananda although the recent report of a document in which the Pandit admitted to a *Rajguru* (royal preceptor) that he himself had had a sexual relationship with her is most probably untrue. At this time there was a particularly strict prohibition on sex between a member of a pure Hindu caste and a member of an impure group, i.e. someone from whom caste Hindus could not accept water. The latter category included not only the lower *Parbatiya* and Newar castes but also Muslims and Europeans. The relationship between Hodgson and Meharunnisha, thus, did not infringe Hindu religious law but a connection between her and a Vajracharya would certainly have done so; from the orthodox Hindu viewpoint, Vajracharyas were inferior to Brahmans but still of pure caste.

Hunter does not mention Meharunnisha by name and her identity is known only from oral tradition in Kathmandu's Muslim community. His reticence possibly reflects prejudice against any sexual relationship across the colour line; he certainly seems to be a little defensive when mentioning her, stressing that no white women were permitted in Nepal at that time because of the local belief 'that the introduction of a foreign woman would be the downfall of their empire'.[16] However, one suspects that the tone might not have been

so apologetic if Meharunnisha had been from a prestigious Muslim family, and this strengthens the case for believing she may have been a member of the *Rajaka* (Muslim) section of the *Dhobi* (washerman) caste. *Rajakas,* who settled in Kathmandu over 200 years ago, actually lived on the northwestern side of the Residency complex, and their descendants still live within the Indian Embassy compound.[17]

I have recently been told that Meharunnisha may have been a divorcee or widow. This probably made the match less objectionable to the Muslim community, which would have been unlikely to accept a non-Muslim *firangi* entering such a relationship with a previously unmarried Muslim girl. A certain sensitivity in the community about the whole episode seems, however, to have persisted until today. Angry reactions led me to abandon my attempts to gain further information about Hodgson and Meharunnisha's third child.

Accounts differ over the sex of this child, but it is generally believed Meharunnisha was pregnant with him or her (or had very recently given birth) when Hodgson left Kathmandu for the last time in 1843. The pregnancy is also said to have been one of the reasons for Hodgson's appeal to Lord Ellenborough to allow him to stay longer in Nepal.[18] When this appeal was rejected Hodgson gave special instructions to his staff to look after Meharunnisha and the baby. Despite gossip current in the 1960s about a local Muslim family being descended from the child, it is quite possible that he or she actually died in infancy, since this would explain Hodgson's apparent failure to try to establish contact in later years.

No such mystery surrounds their first two children, even though local tradition wrongly remembers them as two boys rather than a boy and a girl. They were Henry, born in 1835 and Sarah, born between 1835 and 1837.[19] Hodgson frequently mentioned them in letters to his family in England; in December 1839, for example, at a tense time in Nepalese politics, he wrote to his sister, Fanny, that 'my children are well, and make my heart glad and soft amid all the rough obstructions of life'.[20] On or before his return to Europe in 1844, Hodgson placed them in Fanny's care at Arnhem in Holland, where her husband, Baron Pierre Nahuys, was Provincial Governor. Sarah died in 1851, apparently without returning to South Asia, whilst Henry joined his father in Darjeeling, where he died on 3 April 1856.

Meharunnisha's memory is also preserved among the Tamang community at *Ranipauwa,* the area around the Resident's bungalow at Kakani.[21] A friend from there, Buddha Ratna Lama, has told me the story passed down in his family of how a *firangi saheb* (European or English gentleman) and a beautiful Newar lady, accompanied by two angel-like children, used to speak in Newari with the Tamangs at Kakani. At this time (and still, to a lesser extent, today) many Tamangs could speak the language because of their frequent dealings with the people of the Kathmandu Valley. Presumably Meharunnisha, having been born in Kathmandu, was particularly fluent in the language so she was naturally regarded as a Newar by the local people at Kakani. She may indeed have been so regarded by the Kathmandu Newar community itself,

since in the mid-nineteenth century 'Newar' and 'Muslim' may not have been mutually exclusive categories.[22]

Kakani is situated about twenty-eight kilometres north of Kathmandu, on the road to Nuwakot and Trisuli. It was also a stage point on the pilgrimage trail to the lakes of *Gosainkund*. The *Ranipauwa* area is also celebrated in a famous Newar ballad, the Song of *Silu* (*silu mye*),[23] with which both Hodgson and Meharunnisha would have been familiar. There is some dispute as to whether the present British ambassador's bungalow there is the original building or whether this was completely destroyed in the 1934 earthquake, but some elderly local Tamangs insist it is substantially the same structure. In any case the natural grandeur of the site remains and is well-described by Hodgson himself in a letter to Fanny, written a few months before his relationship with Meharunnisha probably commenced:

> The cottage is a pretty domicile, though small, and commands a double view of the valley of Nepal proper and of Nayakot to the east and west respectively. The elevation is 2,500 feet above the former 3,500 above later, and 7,000 higher than the sea level as indicated by the boiling of water at 199 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometre, as well as by the barometre. At present the foggy or rather misty drizzle is inconvenient, but the temperature is charming – 65 degree being the maximum. . . . There is not much level space, but the undulations of the hill's summit are graceful, and covered by superb forest of rhododendron, oak and numberless Laurifolias. The sward is an emerald, and the familiar token it displays of England in its daisies, fern, thistle, and colewart, are dear to the exiles! Parallel with the course of the ridge, one can walk and ride a native pony with ease and pleasure. But there is no transverse development of flat ground, and in the direction of either valley, a lusty bound from the door might carry you a good way towards either! . . . I am felling and digging, and sowing potato and oats – yes, with my own proper hand. Somewhat to the admiration of the Court gentry, who, however, have very little of the pompous vanity of Asiatic high-breeding about them, and I believe, value me the more for my simple habits. The air and exercise do me good, nor have I for five years been so well at this season as I am now.[24]

Strangely enough, what struck Hodgson as a demi-paradise inspired feelings of fear in many local people. Parents in Kathmandu used to frighten their naughty children by pointing menacingly towards Kakani.

Hodgson's relationship with Meharunnisha ended, of course, unhappily with his departure from Kathmandu at the end of 1843 and her separation from their two children, which came at the same time or possibly a little earlier.[25] According to one oral tradition, prior to Henry and Sarah's departure for Holland, Amritananda performed a special puja to ensure a safe and happy

journey, but during this a *kirkhire cheparo* (chameleon) appeared and raised its head before running away. An occurrence of this kind is said to be an omen of ill-fortune or even death. A variant of this story is that the animal crossed the children's path whilst they were setting out from Kathmandu on horse back, and that Amritananda tried to counteract the omen by ordering one of the Residency staff to attach a small piece of wood in front of them. According to a third version which I heard from some of Meharunnisha's maternal relatives, who used to live near Thamel, both a Hindu and a Buddhist priest performed ceremonies as Hodgson's children were leaving to go 'across the seven seas' (*saat samudra paar*). The children were advised to avoid meat and other peoples' 'left-overs' and also to wear pearls, worship the moon and think of the Goddess to offset adverse planetary influences. These influences were supposedly particularly dangerous as Saturn was then very low, and a Joshi astrologer in Patan is said to have recommended to Hodgson, through Amritananda, that a *jantra* (a sacred and tantric necklace) be tied around the children's necks.

Folk memory claims that in her grief on hearing news of her children's death, Meharunnisha became so ill that she was completely bed-ridden, though still able sometimes to rail against Hodgson. Another version is that she left the Residency and returned to stay with her parents in what is now called *Musamagalli* (Muslim Lane), near *Wotutol* and *Indrachok*. There is also a story that she was carrying their third child as she left. Some claim that the baby resembled 'Hodgson's dearest sister Fanny', others that it had Meharrunisha's brow and Hodgson's nose! There is obviously some confusion in the tradition here, since, if Meharunnisha indeed died in or before 1853 she could not have received news of Henry's death in 1856, whilst Sarah's death in 1851 came eight years after Hodgson himself had left Kathmandu. However, the different accounts do probably reflect Meharunnisha's anguish at being separated from her children; she must surely have feared (with justification, as it transpired) that she would never see them again. The third child, if one existed, was presumably left in Kathmandu as the journey to Calcutta would have posed a grave danger to its health.

After Meharunnisha's own death, she was buried at the Muslim graveyard, known as *takia*, near the present day Tri-Chandra Campus, on Kathmandu's Darbar Marg. This graveyard used to be known as *Begum ka kabar* (graveyard of the Begum, i.e. Begum Meharunnisha?). Subsequently, during the time of Jung Bahadur, the entire area became known as *Begum ka Immambara* (Shrine of the Begum) and the Begum of the Nawab of Lucknow, who had taken refuge in Nepal after the Indian Mutiny, is supposed to have been buried alongside Meharunnisha.

It is also said that no information about Meharunnisha's death and burial was passed to the Residency, even though Hodgson had instructed his people 'to keep a close eye' on her. Possibly her own family, out of bitterness against Hodgson, wished to keep the news to themselves, but Hunter's account (see p. 26) clearly implies that he did in fact learn of her death. The whole episode

nevertheless leaves many unanswered questions. Did Hodgson consider asking Meharunnisha to leave Kathmandu with him, impossible in view of the strong feeling against inter-racial liaisons in British India and in Europe at this time? Did she herself not want to leave her own society and relations? We shall probably never know the whole story.

Notes

1 An alternative etymology derives the Nepali *Laincaura* from the Newari name *Lai(n)khyo,* 'field of radishes'. *Caura* is the Nepali for field.

2 Information from Vinay K. Shrestha, son of Purna Das Shrestha, Nepali littérateur and successful Bombay businessman, and of Krishna Devi Shrestha.

3 John Whelpton, *Kings, Soldiers and Priests*, Delhi: Manohar, 1991, p. 48.

4 The painting of the tower made by Ambrose Oldfield between 1850 and 1863 shows a nine-storey structure, two storeys higher than the replacement built after its collapse in the 1934 earthquake. However, the crack down the side of the tower in Oldfield's painting suggests that it might have merely been damaged rather than collapsing totally in the earlier earthquake. See Götz Hagmüller 'Reading the Pictures of Henry Ambrose Oldfield', in *Sketches from Nipal*, Kathmandu: Himal Association 1993, p. 29.

5 Archibald Campbell, 'Memorandum on the Calcutta Mission', Foreign Political, 24 April 1837, No. 82.

6 Bikrama Jit Hasrat (ed.), *The History of Nepal as Told by Her Own and Contemporary Chroniclers,* Hoshiarpur: V.V. Research Institute, 1970, p. 296.

7 The boy was the son of Mathbar's brother Wazir Singh and grandson of Bhimsen's brother Nain Singh.

8 W.W. Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, London: Murray, 1896, p. 273. Also see E.B. Cowell, *Buddhacarita of Asvaghosha*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1894, p. 11.

9 Others at the Residency later tried to follow Hodgson's example as a collector. In particular, Daniel Wright, Residency surgeon from 1863 to 1876, purchased a large number of manuscripts on behalf of the University of Cambridge (see the list in his *History of Nepal*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1877). Unfortunately some of his successors may have been less scrupulous than Hodgson in their methods. When Jang Bahadur Rana visited the Darbar library on 8 October 1860 he was presented with a list of rare and valuable manuscripts which the British had borrowed and not returned. See Purushottam Shamsher J.B. Rana, *Sri Pancharuko Tathyabrittanta* (Factual Account of the Rana Maharajas), Varanasi: Parambir S.J.B. Rana, 1990, p. 107.

10 The *Buddhacarita,* a verse life of Buddha, was written in the first century AD. For Amritananda's contribution see Cowell, 1894. The Persian translation of the history of Nepal in Sanskrit is now in a private collection in Calcutta.

11 Department of Archaeology, MSS B90/5. A number of other works by Amritananda have similar titles; *Dharmakosha Mahima* (Glories of the Treasuries of the Law), *Dharmakosha Vykhya* (Account of the Treasuries of the Law), etc.

12 Hodgson, manuscript note on p. 145 of a copy of his *Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London: Trübner, 1874, now in a private collection in South India.

13 Hunter, 1896, p. 185. Hodgson dates the incident to 21 June, but his official correspondence at the time suggests he may have confused events that day with an occasion in May (see Whelpton, 1991, p. 81).

14 Hunter, 1896, p. 86.

15 Hunter, 1896, p. 77.
16 Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivale, *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, London: Smith and Elder, 1872, vol. I, p. 449.
17 Information from a family which has been working as *dhobi* in Kathmandu for six generations and which I came across fifteen years ago. *Rajaka* is claimed in the Kathmandu Muslim community to be a corruption of an Arabic word *razaka* meaning 'Muslim', but is listed in dictionaries simply as a Hindi term (taken directly from Sanskrit) for 'washerman'. Discussions of the Newar caste system normally use *Rajaka* as a formal name for Dhobis as a whole (e.g. Gellner and Quigley (eds), *Contested Hierarchies: a Comparative Ethnography of Caste Among the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 282). The Muslims in question evidently migrated from the plains and became a third class of Dhobi, alongside the previously existing Maghaiya and Kanojiya groups. Their existence is ignored in the 1854 *Muluki Ain* (Law Code) and in the standard work on Nepal's Muslims: Marc Gaborieau, *Minorités Musulmanes dans le Royaume Hindou du Népal*, Nanterre: Laboratoire d'Ethnologie, 1977.
18 See John Whelpton (Chapter 2).
19 Henry's date of birth is recorded on his tombstone at Darjeeling as 18 October 1835. However a scrapbook prepared by his stepmother, Anne Scott Hodgson and now in the Royal Asiatic Society, is dated 15 October 1855 and was presented to him 'on his 21st birthday'. This would put his birth in 1834 and this is apparently confirmed by a memorial erected by Hodgson in Petersham parish church, which states he was twenty one years old when he died on 3 April 1856. Either there was a most extraordinary error with one of the dates, or, just possibly, the Hodgsons used inclusive reckoning, regarding Henry as twenty one years old when he entered rather than completed his twenty-first year, in which case the Bodleian and Petersham evidence also points to a birth date in 1835. There would still, however, be the problem of the discrepancy in the day of the month! The Petersham memorial also says that Sarah was aged fifteen when she died on 12 September 1851. She was thus born in 1836 or late 1835 on exclusive reckoning, or in 1837 or 1836 reckoning inclusively.
20 Hunter, 1896, p. 87.
21 The name 'Kakani' is Tamang for 'height'.
22 I am grateful to David Gellner for pointing this out.
23 Bharat Sayami, *Silu,* Kathmandu, 1993.
24 Hodgson to Fanny, 1 August 1835, in Hunter, 1896, pp. 82–83.
25 A letter to his father in 1841, quoted in Hunter, 1896, p. 90, shows he was already considering sending them to Europe.

4

THE AMBIVALENT EXEGETE

Hodgson's contributions to the study of Buddhism

Donald S. Lopez Jr

> The history of Buddhism is now emerging from the darkness, in which it has been buried for ages, and your name will be connected forever with its restauration.
>
> Letter to Hodgson from Albrecht Weber, Berlin, 10 December 1882

In an 1862 review of Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire's *Le Bouddha et sa religion*, Friedrich Max Müller wrote that:

> the real beginning of an historical and critical study of the doctrine of Buddha dates from the year 1824. In that year Mr Hodgson announced the fact that the original documents of the Buddhist canon had been preserved in Sanskrit in the monasteries of Nepal.[1]

Few scholars of Buddhism today would agree with this fixing of the point of origin of the academic study of Buddhism, fewer still would know with any precision who this 'Mr Hodgson' was. In this essay, I shall attempt to identify the reasons for Brian Hodgson's fame in the field of Buddhist Studies during the nineteenth century, and the reasons for his relative obscurity in the twentieth. I hope to show that in the twenty-first century, Hodgson is indeed worthy of memory, although perhaps not for the reasons that he himself proclaimed.

In order to undertake such a study, it is necessary to have a fuller account of the events of 1824 than that offered by Müller above. Such an account, written just three years after the fact, was provided by Hodgson himself in a letter to Dr Nathaniel Wallich. We may discern in this early passage a great many of the themes that would be important to any assessment of Brian Hodgson's contributions to the academic study of Buddhism in Europe and the West. But a just assessment of his contribution would require far more than can be contained in these few pages. The present essay, therefore, will

take the form of a commentary on Hodgson's words below, offering both some historical context, as well as some exegesis, of Hodgson's description of his work.

In a letter of 11 August 1827 to Dr Wallich, Hodgson wrote:

> Soon after my arrival in Nipál (now six years ago), I began to devise means of procuring some accurate information relative to Buddhism: for, though the regular investigation of such a subject was foreign to my pursuits, my respect for science in general led me cheerfully to avail myself of the opportunity afforded, by my residence in a *Bauddha* country, for collecting and transmitting to Calcutta the materials for such investigation. There were, however, serious obstacles in my way, arising out of the jealousy of the people in regard to any profanation of their sacred things by an European, and yet more, resulting from Chinese notions of policy adopted by this government. I nevertheless persevered; and time, patience, and dexterous applications to the superior intelligence of the chief minister, at length rewarded my toils.
>
> My first object was to ascertain the existence or otherwise of *Bauddha* Scriptures in Nipál; and to this end I privately instituted inquiries in various directions, in the course of which the reputation for knowledge of an old *Bauddha* residing in the city of *Pátan*, drew one of my people to his abode. This old man assured me that Nipál contained many large works relating to Buddhism; and of some of these he gave me a list. Subsequently, when better acquainted, he volunteered to procure me copies of them. His list gradually enlarged as his confidence increased; and at length, chiefly through his kindness, and his influence with his brethren in the *Bauddha* faith, I was enabled to procure and transmit to Calcutta a large collection of important *Bauddha* scriptures.
>
> Meanwhile, as the *Pátan Bauddha* seemed very intelligent, and my curiosity was excited, I proposed to him (about four years ago) a set of questions, which I desired he would answer from his books. He did so; and these questions and answers form the text of the paper which I herewith forward. The reason why I have so long kept it to myself, is, that with the lapse of time my opportunities for obtaining information increased; and I at length persuaded the sensible minister of this state to permit my old friend to visit me. Having in his answers quoted sundry slókas in proof of his statements; and many of the scriptures whence these were taken being now in my possession, I was tempted to try the truth of his quotations. Of that, my research gave me in general satisfactory proof. But the possession of the books led to questions respecting their relative age and authority; and, tried by this test, the *Bauddha's* quotations were not always so satisfactory. Thus one step led to another, until I conceived the idea of drawing up, with the aid of my old friend and his books, a sketch of the

> terminology and general disposition of the external parts of Buddhism, in the belief that such a sketch, though but imperfectly executed, would be of some assistance to such of my countrymen as, with the books only before them, might be disposed to enter into a full and accurate investigation of this almost unknown subject.
>
> When, however, I conceived the design, I little suspected where it would lead me; I began ere long to feel my want of languages, and (to confess the truth) of patience, and almost looked back with a sigh to the tolerably full and tolerably accurate account of Buddhism which I had obtained so long ago, and with little comparative labour, from my old friend's answers to my queries. I also saw certain notices of Buddhism coming from time to time before the world, ushered by the talents and industry of Klaproth and Rémusat; and, so far as I had opportunity to learn what these notices contained, it seemed that the answers to my questions furnished much ampler and more accurate views of the subject than these distinguished men could extract from their limited sources of information.[2]

This passage from his letter to Dr Wallich would form the opening paragraphs of the published version of Hodgson's first essay on Buddhism, entitled 'Sketch of Buddhism, derived from the Bauddha Scriptures of Nipál', appearing in 1830 in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.[3] Although Hodgson would write about Buddhism repeatedly over the subsequent decade, this essay would remain his most substantial contribution to the European study of Buddhism, a fact that Hodgson himself recognized in the final paragraph above. Hodgson worked most concertedly on Buddhism only from the ages of twenty-three to twenty-seven; his subsequent forays into the subject, as we shall see below, were rather grudgingly made, and consisted largely of commentaries on and defences of this early work. And thus, although this essay is early (composed at the age of twenty-seven), it is also late. There is a tone of retrospection and finality in Hodgson's words, as, at twenty-seven, he recounts with a certain nostalgia events that had occurred just four years before, finding sufficient hindsight in that short time to offer an assessment of his own contribution to scholarship. He seems here to close the chapter on his studies of Buddhism. Yet, as we shall see, he would return to the topic again and again.

What is perhaps most immediately striking about the passage, then, is not its content, but its tone. Hodgson begins with an attitude of ambivalence toward the very topic of Buddhism, an ambivalence that he would invoke throughout his writings on the subject. Indeed, as will be clear from what follows, ambivalence, both declared and implied, would prove the dominant mood of Hodgson's Buddhist studies.

In this early manifestation he explains that, since he was already living in Nepal and under conditions restricted by the Nepalese court (hence his reference to the 'Chinese notions of policy adopted by this Government'), he concluded that, in the interests of science, he should find out what he could

about the local religion. But, as the very existence of the present collection of essays testifies, Buddhism was only one of the many objects of Hodgson's scientific interest, and it was one which he would probably have ranked somewhat beneath others (he would write 146 papers on birds and animals and 11 papers on Buddhism). In such a context, his work on Buddhism, all conducted apparently as an avocation, is all the more remarkable, regardless of how the reputation of that work would fare in the subsequent century.

Hodgson is thus motivated not by any particular interest in Buddhism, nor is he captivated by a particular problem posed by it. His motivation derives from his 'respect for science in general'; a formal investigation of Buddhism would have been something 'foreign to my pursuits'. Yet he feels a sense of responsibility, as he describes it, not to undertake a scientific investigation of Buddhism, but rather to gather the materials that would make it possible for others, specifically the members of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, to conduct such an investigation. (The Society, founded in 1784, and its journal, *Asiatic Researches*, first issued in 1800, devoted much attention to the systems of religion and law of South Asia.) It is clear then, that despite his various forays into issues of Buddhist doctrine and practice, Hodgson regarded himself first and foremost as a collector. He would return to this characterization throughout his writings in service to a range of rhetorical purposes.

Hodgson does not say that he simply set out to gather information; rather his purpose was to 'devise means of procuring some accurate information relative to Buddhism'. That is, in keeping with his respect for science, he was concerned first with method. His work was initially impeded by the suspicions of the Nepalese people, who feared the pollution of their tradition, but this problem was eventually overcome (although Hodgson does not explain how).[4] Now free to begin his investigations, it is significant that he does not set out to record the activities of pilgrims around the great stupas of Kathmandu or to observe the ceremonies of the vajrācāryas and bhikṣus (which he also eventually would do). 'My first object was to ascertain the existence or otherwise of Bauddha Scriptures in Nipál.'

In this respect, Hodgson was very much in keeping with the concerns of his age, for what Raymond Schwab describes as the Oriental Renaissance (which Schwab dates from 1680 to 1880, much of the last half of which coinciding with Hodgson's life) was concerned above all with texts. In 1784 Charles Wilkens published his translation of the *Bhagavad Gītā,* and in 1786 A.H. Anquetil-Duperron published his translation of four *Oupnek'hat* (*Upaniṣad*) from the Persian. William Jones published *Sacontalá; or, The Fatal Ring: an Indian Drama* in 1792 (a translation of the Kālidāsa's Sankrit play *Śakuntala*) and his *Institutes of Hindu Law: or, The Ordinances of Menu, According to the Gloss of Cullúca* in 1794 (his translation of the *Manavadharmaśāstra*).

But these were all Hindu or, as they were termed at the time, 'Brahmanical' texts. Buddhism was thus far largely unknown, at least textually. Therefore, in considering Hodgson's contributions, it may be useful to note briefly the state of European knowledge of Buddhism in 1820, the year of his arrival in Nepal.

The Oxford English Dictionary reports that the term 'Boudhism' had first appeared in English in 1801, changed to what we consider the proper spelling in 1816 in a sentence of a contributor to the *Asiatic Journal*: 'The name and peculiarities of Buddhism have a good deal fixed my attention.' And we note that although Hodgson uses the word 'Buddhism', nowhere in this early essay does he use the adjective Buddhist (the term 'Boodhists' had been used by Michael Symes in his account of an embassy to the Kingdom of Ava in 1795),[5] employing instead the local Nepali (and proper Sanskrit) term *Bauddha*.

Buddhism would not be classified by Europe as a 'world religion' until the last decades of the nineteenth century. The operative system of classification prior to the nineteenth century recognized only four religions in the world: Christianity, Judaism, Islam (generally referred to as Mohammedanism or some variant thereof) and Paganism. Thus, in the seventeenth century we find such works as Edward Brerewood's *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages, and Religions Through the Chiefe Parts of the World* (1614), where the author notes 'There are foure sorts or sects of Religion, observed in the sundrie regions of the World. Namely, Idolatrie, Mahumetanisme, Iudaisme, and Christianity.'[6] In 1704, Daniel Defoe published *A Dictionary of All Religions, Ancient and Modern, Whether Jewish, Pagan, Christian, or Mahometan*. The categorization persisted into Hodgson's day, with works such as David Benedict's 1824 *A History of All Religions, as Divided into Paganism, Mahometanism, Judaism and Christianity*.

It was only in the early decades of the nineteenth century that the conclusion was beginning to be drawn that the religions observed in Burma, Siam, Ceylon, Tartary, Japan and Cathay were somehow the same, that the Sagamoni Borcan mentioned by Marco Polo in his description of Ceylon,[7] the Godama mentioned by Father Sangermano of the Roman Catholic mission to Rangoon, the Fo of China, the Khodom of Bali, and the Booddhu of India were somehow the same person. This assumption had been based on the observations of travellers, missionaries and colonial officers. But Hodgson, though in some sense a member of this same caste, was not initially concerned with making such reports. He had been trained well at Old Haileybury and at the College of Fort William, and knew that a religion was to be found first and foremost in its scriptures; the current scholarly view held that a proper religion required a founder and a set of sacred scriptures. Hodgson was already aware of the founder. He thus set out in search of texts. In his search he soon found a treasure, and in doing so he would, at least in the opinion of F. Max Müller, inaugurate the academic study of Buddhism.

Buddhism had all but disappeared from the Indian subcontinent by the fourteenth century. A Tibetan pilgrim who arrived in Bihar in 1234 reports that the great monastery of Vikramaśīla in Bengal (whose precise location remains elusive) had already been reduced to rubble, and that the temple complex at Bodhgayā, the site of the Buddha's enlightenment, was populated by a small band of Sinhalese (rather than Indian) monks, who would hide in the forest whenever Muslim troops passed by.[8] A Tibetan employed by the East India

Company visited the ruins of Bodhgayā in 1775, but was unsure whether this was indeed the site of the Buddha's enlightenment or whether the tree where the Buddha sat on that full-moon night was located instead three months journey to the north.[9]

Thus, in Hodgson's day, Indian Buddhism, apart from its ruins, was absent from India; the study of Indian Buddhism would begin in the antipodes, in Sri Lanka and Nepal. George Turnour (1799–1843) would publish in the Ceylon almanacs of 1833 and 1834 a work entitled *Epitome of the History of Ceylon, and the Historical Inscriptions*. This contained a translation of 'the first twenty chapters of the Mahawanso and a prefatory essay on Pali Buddhistical literature'.[10] This was his translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the great Buddhist chronicle of Sri Lanka. Three years earlier, Hodgson would publish his 'Sketch of Buddhism' in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. Hodgson thus came to his study of Buddhism during a vibrant period in Europe's encounter with the dharma, a study which he helped make possible. As Max Müller wrote in 1862:

> It never rains but it pours. Whereas for years, nay, for centuries, not a single original document of the Buddhist religion had been accessible to the scholars of Europe, we witness, in the small space of ten years, the recovery of four complete Buddhist literatures. In addition to the discoveries of Hodgson in Nepal, of Csoma de Körös in Thibet, and of Schmidt in Mongolia, the Honorable George Turnour suddenly presented to the world the Buddhist literature of Ceylon, composed in the sacred language of that island, the ancient Pâli.[11]

Theories were put forward and attacked in the pages of learned journals, and there was a clear sense of scientific progress. In an 1836 article, Hodgson was able to confidently dismiss the theory held by William Jones and others (drawn in part from the observation of the curly hair and full lips in statues of the Buddha), that the Buddha was an African.[12] Hodgson was a leading figure in these debates, publishing eleven articles on Buddhism between 1827 and 1841. His essays on Buddhism, in order of date of publication are:

- 1827 'On the Extreme Resemblance that Prevails Between Many of the Symbols of Buddhism and Saivism', *Oriental Quarterly Magazine*, vol. vii and vol. viii.
- 1828 'Sketch of Buddhism, Derived From the Bauddha Scriptures of Nepál', *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. ii.
- 1828 'Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet', *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi.
- 1829 'A Disputation Respecting Caste by a Buddhist', *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii.
- 1834 'European Speculations on Buddhism', *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii.

1834 'Remarks on M. Remusat's Review of Buddhism', *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii.
1834 'Notice of Adi Buddha and of the Seven Mortal Buddhas', *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. iii.
1835 'Note on the Inscription from Sárnath', *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv.
1836 'Quotations from Original Sanskrit Authorities as Proof and Illustration of the Preceding Article', *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. v.
1837 'Note on the Primary Language of the Buddhist Writings', *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. vi.
1841 'The Pravrajyá Vrata, or Initiatory Rites of the Buddhists, According to the Pújá Khanda', in *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhist*.[13]

Regardless of his occasional protestations to the contrary, Hodgson was regarded, both by himself and by others, as more than a collector of texts.

Yet his efforts as an expositor of Buddhism flowed (whether naturally or unnaturally) from his efforts as a collector of Buddhist scriptures. As he reports, in 1824, Hodgson began accumulating Buddhist works in Sanskrit (and Tibetan[14]) and dispatching them around the world, beginning with the gift of 66 manuscripts to the library of the College of Fort William in 1827 and continuing until 1845: 94 to the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 79 to the Royal Asiatic Society, 36 to the India Office Library, 7 to the Bodleian, 88 to the Société Asiatique, 59 to Burnouf. A total of 423 works were provided. I will not list all the titles.[15]

It should be said, however, that they include the most important sūtras and tantras of Sanskrit Buddhism, works that in India, and in translations into Chinese and Tibetan, were among the most important in the history of Buddhism. To provide just a dozen, these manuscripts included: the *Aṣṭasahāsrikāprajñāpāramitā*, the *Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines*, one of the earliest and most influential of the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*) texts; the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, regarded as the Buddha's most profound teaching by the Huayan schools of East Asia; the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, the fundamental sūtra for the Pure Land traditions of East Asia; the *Daśabhūmika*, which sets forth the ten stages (*bhūmi*) of the bodhisattva's path to buddhahood; the *Laṅkāvatāra*, a central text for the Yogācāra school in India and the Chan traditions of East Asia; the *Samādhirāja*, which sets forth the array of meditative states (*samādhi*) along the path to buddhahood, including the 'king of meditations' which gives the sūtra its name; the *Lalitavistara*, a baroque biography of the Buddha; the *Guhyasamāja*, among the most influential of Buddhist tantras, known in Tibet as the 'king of tantras'; the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, an eighth-century poem by the Indian monk Śāntideva on the practice of the bodhisattva; the *Buddhacarita*, Aśvaghoṣa's second-century poem on the life

of the Buddha; and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the famous *Lotus Sūtra*, perhaps the most influential of all Mahāyāna texts. Hodgson did not read these works himself, they would be edited and translated by others, scholars who are regarded today as the fathers of Buddhist studies, a list that does not contain the name of Brian Hodgson, but instead: Foucaux, Cowell, Müller, La Vallée Poussin, and above all, Eugène Burnouf.[16]

It was Burnouf who would first recognize the vast significance of the books that arrived in Paris at the end of 1837. It was he, although not one of Hodgson's countrymen 'with the books only before them', who would perhaps most successfully 'enter into a full and accurate investigation of this almost unknown subject'. Deploying his uncanny ability to speed-read Sanskrit, Burnouf would publish, in 1844, his monumental 647-page masterpiece, *Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*. Though little read today, this work would be the most influential scholarly work on Buddhism in the nineteenth century.[17] It was based almost entirely on Hodgson's manuscripts. As Burnouf himself explained:

> M. Hodgson n'avait certainement pas envoyé à Paris deux collections de cette étendue pour qu'elles dormissent paisiblement sur les rayons d'une bibliothèque. Il voulait voir se poursuivre en Europe les recherches qu'il avait commencées lui-même avec tant de succès en Asie; et c'eût été mal reconnaître les efforts qu'il avait faits pour se procurer ces manuscrits, et la générosité avec laquelle il en disposait en faveur de la France, que de ne pas essayer de porter la lumière sur quelques-uns des ouvrages qu'ils renfermaient. Je sentis, pour ma part, comme membre de la Société Asiatique de Paris, tout ce qu'il y avait d'honorable et de pressant dans l'appel de M. Hodgson, et je résolus dès-lors d'y répondre autant qu'il était en moi. Telles sont les circonstances qui ont donné lieu aux recherches qui font l'objet des Mémoires contenus dan ce volume.[18]

In 1852, the year of his untimely death, Burnouf's translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* (from a manuscript supplied by Hodgson) was published in Paris as *Le Lotus de la bonne loi: traduit du sanscrit*. It was dedicated 'À Monsieur Brian Houghton Hodgson, membre du service civil de la Compagnie des Indes, comme au fondateur de la véritable étude du Buddhisme par les textes et les monuments'.

Hodgson himself was more humble (although his humility was perhaps false). He described himself as merely the collector of that which was previously unknown:

> I esteem myself fortunate in having been first to discover and procure copies of these important works. To meditate and digest them is not for me; but I venture to hint that by so doing only can a knowledge of genuine Buddhism be acquired.[19]

But these texts were not procured by Hodgson himself, but by a local learned Buddhist, and it was Hodgson's relationship with this Nepalese scholar, whose name was Amṛtānanda, that would lead Hodgson from collection to exposition, to the very digestion he claimed to eschew.

Let us return to Hodgson's narrative of his early years in Nepal. He discovered that 'the old *Bauddha* residing in the city of *Pátan*' who had agreed to procure all of these Sanskrit texts also knew a good deal about Buddhism; 'my curiosity was excited, and I proposed to him (about 1823) a set of which questions, which I desired he would answer from his books'. They can be considered here but briefly. Hodgson's questions and the old man's answers formed the core of his 'Sketch of Buddhism'. Hodgson's questions are largely theological in nature: 'Question IV: Is matter an independent existence, or derived from God?', 'Question VI: Is the pleasure of God derived from action or repose?' Hodgson was clearly interested in philosophy and described Buddhist doctrines in a sophisticated vocabulary rarely encountered in descriptions of what in many quarters was still considered a form of idolatry. Of the now famous concept of *śūnyatā* or emptiness (almost utterly unknown to the West at that time) he wrote in 1828:

> By tracing the connextion of Súnyatá and Akása [space, or, for Hodgson, 'ether'], and through it, with the palpable elements, in the evolution and revolution of Pravritti, it may be plainly seen, that Súnyatá is the *ubi* and the *modus* of primal entity in the last and highest state of abstraction from all articular modifications such as our senses and understanding are cognizant of.[20]

Also set forth in the 'Sketch' is what Hodgson regarded as his most important contribution, 'the distinction of the various schools of philosophy; the peculiar tenets of each school'. These were the four major schools of Buddhist philosophy: the Swabhávika (with its subschools, the simple Swabhávika and the Prájnika Swabhávika), the Aiswarika, the Kármika and the Yátnika. Hodgson sets forth their doctrines in some detail, but in brief, the Swabhávika, which he considered the oldest of the schools, denies the existence of immateriality and holds that matter is the sole substance of the universe. Matter alternates between two states, action (Pravritti) and rest (Nirvritti), with rest or repose being the natural state of matter; to know Nirvritti is to be a buddha. The order and beauty of the world derives from the eternal movement of matter between these two states. The Aiswarikas are similar to the Swabhávikas in their assertion of the two states of action and repose, but believe in immaterial existence in the form of a supreme deity, called Adi Buddha. The highest state is one of absorption into this deity, but this is won through the practice of meditation, rather than by appealing to divine grace. The Kármika and the Yátnika are more recent schools, and are less concerned with metaphysics. Although accepting the general tenets of the first two schools, they seek to counter their quietism through an emphasis on ethics. The Kármikas hold that

happiness is gained through the cultivation of morality, while the Yátnikas hold that happiness is gained through the cultivation of the intellect.[21]

The Sanskrit texts delivered to Calcutta, London and Paris were studied by those who could read Sanskrit, and Hodgson's essays – first published in journals such as *Asiatic Researches* and *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* and subsequently reprinted in his *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists* (1841) and his *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet: Together with Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology, and Commerce of Those Countries* (1874) – were read not only by Sanskritists, but also by those who could not read Sanskrit. Thus, for the non-Orientalist interested in Buddhist philosophy in the nineteenth century, Hodgson's delineation of the four major schools of Buddhist thought proved authoritative; one finds these terms repeated in any number of expositions of Buddhism, including some influential textbooks, as well as in theological treatises of another variety, such as Madame Blavatsky's magnum opus *The Secret Doctrine*. The four schools and their doctrines thus generated considerable fascination. What is perhaps more fascinating, for our purposes, however, is that there is no evidence that schools with these names ever existed in India or Nepal, nor were the doctrines ascribed to them coherent.

Hodgson appears to have been cognizant of the former, but not of the latter.[22] He was aware that Amṛtānanda had heuristically devised these schools and that they were not to be found by name in the Buddhist treatises. He was not, however, aware of the extent of his friend's apparent error: 'In making these extracts we ought to reach the leading doctrines, and therein I think we succeeded.'[23] Something had gone wrong, either in the old Buddhist's answers or in Hodgson's rendering of them. For despite Hodgson's description of his method, the precise role of the interlocutors in the presentation of the 'system' of the four schools is far from clear.[24]

In both Asia and the West there is the well-known and ancient genre of the 'dialogue' in which the presence of two distinct speakers is a rhetorical conceit. That Hodgson's four schools bear no relation whatsoever to any of the historical schools of Indian Buddhism immediately raises the question of their origin. The sources of Hodgson's 'system' require and deserve further study – certainly far more than can be provided here – in an effort not only to determine the respective roles of Hodgson and Amṛtānanda in the process, but also to identify what other factors in Hodgson's own theological inclinations might have come into play. One can only note that both the style and substance of the dialogue suggest that Hodgson's role was something more than that of a mere scribe; it is difficult to imagine that Hodgson's rendition of the answers were a literal translation of the old Buddhist's words. Indeed, it is clear when reading the essays that when Hodgson paraphrases Amṛtānanda directly, the statements tend to be more precise and more accurate than when Hodgson describes matters in his own terms.[25]

The non-existent four schools would be repeatedly described by those who could not read the original Sanskrit texts, but also by those who could,

including such renowned scholars as Monier-Williams and La Vallée Poussin (despite an early expression of scepticism by Burnouf himself who referred to 'renseignements très-curieux sur les dogmes fondamentaux de la religion du Népal').[26] When they were unable to find references to these schools in the treatises of Indian Buddhism (which had been Hodgson's claim), these authors assumed that the four systems were the schools of Nepalese Buddhism. This was also wrong, but such was Hodgson's authority that references to the four schools of Nepalese Buddhism persisted into the late twentieth century.[27]

Hodgson was wrong about other things.[28] But one should not conclude that his essays are entirely suspect; Hodgson also got many things right. He was right about the date of the death of the Buddha, noting in an 1828 essay that 'the best opinion seems to be that Sákya died about four and half centuries before our era'.[29] He was among the first to recognize that the famous mantra *oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ*, already well-known and widely interpreted in his day, was an invocation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (also known as Padmapāṇi) and that the term *maṇi padme* should be read as one word, *maṇipadme*, an epithet of that deity.[30] He correctly identified the Chinese 'O-mi-to' as the buddha Amitābha.[31] In addition, Hodgson's writings were remarkably free of terms like 'primitive superstition' and 'idolatry' that, in retrospect, so commonly mar the reports of Hodgson's contemporaries in their descriptions of South Asian religions.

But a tally of where Hodgson was right and where he was wrong is perhaps less interesting than an assessment of his method and of his mentality. None of Hodgson's legacies – his legacy as a collector and his legacy as an interpreter, his legacy as someone who got things right and his legacy as someone who got things wrong – would have been possible, it must be emphasized, without the work of his 'native informant' *avant la lettre*, Amṛtānanda. Their collaboration raises a number of difficult questions about the European scholar's relation to the Buddhist text and to the living Buddhist, questions that, once again, cannot be adequately addressed here.

However, it should be noted that Hodgson's relation to the living Buddhist differed from that of many of his contemporaries.[32] Sir William Jones wrote in 1771, 'It was found highly dangerous to employ natives as interpreters, upon whose fidelity they could not depend'.[33] Hodgson not only employed a native as an interpreter of Buddhism, but he relied on his fidelity. Furthermore, the native was not simply an informant; Hodgson (at least by his own account) engaged in a dialogue with Amṛtānanda, repeatedly praised his learning, and mentioned him by name. These were rare practices for a colonial officer. In defence of his method, Hodgson wrote:

> Questionless, in the general case, documentary is superior to verbal evidence. But the superiority of the former is not without limit: and where, on the one hand, the books referred to by our closet students are numerous and difficult, and respect an entirely new subject, whilst, on the other hand, our personal inquirers have time and opportunity

> at command, and can question and cross-question intelligent witnesses, and cause reference to be made to the written authorities, the result of an appeal to the living oracles will oft times prove as valuable as that of one to the dead without any other guide.[34]

Hodgson is here writing in favour of his method, the method of, 'the intelligent traveller', and against that of the 'closet students', the scholars of Europe with their increasingly exclusive focus on the text, texts that, in many cases, he had provided.

Yet Hodgson's championing of the native scholar and his consistently humble assessment of his own role is not without ambivalence, an ambivalence that serves him in two ways. First, it enables him to enhance his own authority by portraying himself as the mouthpiece of the learned master. He wrote:

> Let me add in this place, that I desire all searchers after the doctrine of Bodhijnyána [the knowledge of enlightenment] to look into the Bauddha scriptures, and judge for themselves; and to remember, meanwhile, that I am not a Sanskrit scholar, and am indebted for all I have gathered from the books of the Buddhists to the mediation of my old Bauddha friend, and of my *Pandit*.[35]

At the same time, Hodgson's humility allows him to deflect blame from himself, as he would do when his work came under attack by other scholars, damning his informant with the faintest of praise:

> Let the closet student, then, give reasonable faith to the traveller, even upon this subject; and, whatever may be the general intellectual inferiority of the orientals of our day, or the plastic facility of change peculiar to every form of polytheism, let him not suppose that the living followers of Buddha cannot be profitably interrogated touching the creed they live and die in.[36]

Hodgson would both praise and (albeit indirectly) blame Amṛtānanda as he defended his essays.

Hodgson's scholarship on Buddhism falls into two periods: an early period (1827–1829), in which he produced his expository essays on Buddhism, and a late period (1834–1837), in which he entered into debates with other scholars and responded to his critics. And Hodgson's work had its critics. Let us return to Hodgson's narrative, and to its final paragraphs. He says that having obtained some sense of the contents of the books he had received from his old friend, he next sought to determine something of their age and authority. He became interested in the question of how Buddhism had developed over the centuries in India, and how it had been transformed as a result of its transportation to other parts of Asia. Amṛtānanda could only explain to Hodgson the doctrines in the texts he delivered to him; he could not explain

the developments in doctrine that resulted in the composition of those texts. But Hodgson had his own ideas. He wrote in 1828:

> And upon the authority of these great works [Sanskrit Buddhist texts] I venture to assert that, not only that the founders of Buddhism differed among themselves, but also that many new teachers arose at various times, who modified each and all of the ancient doctrines; and that many of these new opinions were ultimately incorporated with the sacred writings of the sect.
>
> It is obvious that such a system, prevailing, as it did, for ages in India before it was uprooted by violence, and subjected to the changes inseparable from transplantation into other climes, must be studied historically as well as philosophically, before we can hope to acquire a just conception of its entire or genuine character.[37]

Here, Hodgson begins to ask the kinds of questions of the texts that an Orientalist might ask. He finds his native informant incapable of answering them, and so he seeks to determine the answers himself. A tone of frustration may be discerned, a tone that recurs throughout Hodgson's writings on Buddhism. This frustration derives in part from the inadequacy of his training in Sanskrit; he cannot read the books he has collected.[38] At the same time, he is defensive of the knowledge that he has provided. Hodgson would raise these questions, often with insight and eloquence, throughout his writings on Buddhism. He was unequipped, however, to answer them. This did not prevent him from attempting to do so, and from entering into rather bitter debate with those who challenged his claims.

As noted above, Hodgson's essays on Buddhism may be divided into an early period (1827–1829) in which he sets forth his understanding of Buddhism, and a later period (1834–1837), in which he responded to criticisms of the points he had presented in those essays. He represents his efforts in the later period as something that he undertook very much against his will. In his 1834 'European Speculations on Buddhism', he remarks:

> The purpose of my two essays on Buddhism ['Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet' and 'Sketch of Buddhism'] was to seize and render intelligible the *leading* and *least* absurd of the opinions and practices of these religionists, in order to facilitate to my countrymen the study of an entirely new and difficult subject in those original Sanskrit authorities which I had discovered and placed within their reach, but no living interpreters of which, I knew, were accessible to them, in Bengal or in Europe.
>
> I had no purpose, nor have I, to meddle with the interminable sheer absurdities of the Bauddha philosophy or religion; and, had I not been called upon for proofs of the numerous novel statements my two essays contained, I should not probably have recurred at all to the topic.[39]

In order to provide those proofs, Hodgson published in 1836 an article entitled, ‘Quotations from Original Sanskrit Authorities as Proof and Illustration of the Preceding Article’. The ‘preceding article’ was his ‘Sketch of Buddhism’, published in 1830. The 1836 piece is essentially a long list of quotations in support of a wide range of the doctrines he had presented (including the four schools) nine years earlier (according to his 1827 letter to Dr Wallich). However, prior to beginning the list, he addresses his critics in a long preface.

The first question Hodgson takes up is that of the original language of Buddhism. Turnour’s ‘discovery’ of the Pali canon in Ceylon had led several scholars, including Edward Upham, to conclude that Pali was the language of the Buddha and of the earliest Buddhist scriptures. According to this argument, the Sanskrit texts that Hodgson had discovered derived from a later period. Against this, Hodgson argued that Sanskrit was the original language of Buddhism.

In the years after the publication of the ‘Sketch of Buddhism’, Hodgson had not been actively engaged in the study of Buddhism (how actively he was ever engaged, given his other responsibilities and interests, remains a question), and he had apparently not progressed in his study of Sanskrit or undertaken the study of Pali. He was not able, therefore, to support his claims on historical or textual grounds. His was a more intuitive argument: Sanskrit is a refined language, and only such a language is capable of expressing the subtleties of Buddhist thought. Other languages, such as Tibetan and the Indian vernaculars called Prakrits, are incapable of original expressions of the sublime, such that any occurrences of sophisticated Buddhist thought in these languages are necessarily translations from the Sanskrit. He wrote: ‘Sanskrit, like its cognate Greek, may be characterised as a speech “capable of giving a soul to the objects of sense, and a body to the abstractions of metaphysics.”’[40] He goes so far as to criticize Sir William Jones himself for suggesting that Pali was the original language of Buddhism: ‘But for his Brahmanical bias, therefore, Sir William might have come at the truth, that the Bauddha philosophers employed the classical language.’[41] Hodgson would return to the question, and repeat the same point, in 1837, in a brief piece entitled, ‘Note on the Primary Language of the Buddhist Writings’:

> In my judgment the *extent* and *character* of these works steel the question that the philosophic founders of Buddhism used Sanskrit and Sanskrit only, to expound, defend and record the speculative principles of their system, principles without which the vulgar creed would be (for us,) mere leather and prunella![42]

Hodgson’s intuition regarding Sanskrit was not to be supported by the evidence.[43] Despite his location in Kathmandu, Hodgson remained abreast of much of the scholarship published in Europe. His ostensibly ‘linguistic’ argument in favour of Sanskrit was apparently influenced by the fascination with Sanskrit that had swept Europe in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. There are indeed many sophisticated Sanskrit treatises, and they were

carefully translated into Tibetan and Chinese (Hodgson referred to these as 'barbarian translations from the most refined and copious of languages upon the most subtle and interminable of topics').[44] But equally sophisticated works were composed in Pali, and in the other languages of Buddhist Asia as well.

Hodgson turns next to a defence of his claim that early Buddhism was entirely monastic and did not admit 'the distinction of *Clerus et Laicus*', a distinction that exists in 'Brahmanism and Popery' but not in Buddhism. Again, Hodgson's argument is not based on historical or textual sources, but rather on his conviction of what early Buddhism must have been. He writes:

> Whoever has been able to go along with me in the above reflections can need only to be told that primitive Buddhism was entirely monastic, and of an undoubtedly enthusiastical genius, to be satisfied that it did not recognise the distinction in question.[45]

Hodgson seems unaware of the 'fourfold saṅgha' of monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen mentioned repeatedly in Buddhist texts, and of the various accounts of laypeople achieving enlightenment. Hodgson was clearly attracted to Buddhism, specifically to the Buddhism that he imagined that the Buddha had preached, rather than the Buddhism he observed in Nepal; the former, like Apostolic Christianity, could not, in his view, sanction a professional priesthood.

There were other points of contention.[46] Again, whether Hodgson was right or wrong (and, as noted above, he was more often wrong) is perhaps less interesting than the defensiveness with which he champions his earlier work. Hodgson seemed hurt that his contributions to Europe's understanding of Buddhism had not been adequately acknowledged, and he lashed out especially at two scholars who were his linguistic superiors, the Mongolist Julius von Klaproth (1783–1835), who published a *Leben des Budd'a* in 1823 and the great Sinologist Jean Pierre Abel Rémusat (1788–1832), whose extensive publications included an 1836 translation of Chinese monk Faxian's account of his pilgrimage to India in the late fourth century.

Responding to Rémusat's criticisms, Hodgson wrote of the French scholar and his Chinese sources:

> Such insidious injustice compels me to avow in the face of the world my conviction that, whatever the Chinese and Mongolian works on Buddhism possessed by the French Savans may contain, no intelligible views were thence derived of the general subject before my essays appeared, or could have been afterwards, but for the lights those essays afforded.[47]

Thus, after so often describing himself as a mere collector, who left it to the scholars to read and interpret the texts, Hodgson also very much wanted to be accepted as a scholar by other scholars. He wanted credit for something more than his deed of collecting the texts and dispatching them to Calcutta

and to Europe. He wanted credit as an exegete; he had explained the system which these texts inhabited, a system without which, he vainly felt, the texts could not be understood. Here again, Hodgson was mistaken. The texts, and his dispatch of them, is remembered. His system is forgotten. Hodgson, working in a Buddhist land, assisted by its leading scholar, was so often wrong. Burnouf, working in Paris without assistance, was largely right. In his assessment of 1862, Müller marks 1824 as the beginning of the study of Buddhism in Europe. But Hodgson is given credit only for the deed of dispatch. If the texts he gathered and sent off to Europe had not been read by Burnouf, Hodgson's deed would not be remembered. The letter must be read. Later in the same essay, Müller writes:

> At Paris, however, these Buddhist MSS. fell into the hands of Burnouf. Unappalled by their size and tediousness, he set to work, and was not long before he discovered their extreme importance. After seven years of careful study, Burnouf published, in 1844, his 'Introduction à l'histoire du Buddhisme'. It is this work which laid the foundation for a systematic study of the religion of Buddha.[48]

Yet Hodgson need not be forgotten. He was prescient in many ways, holding views that came to hold sway, for good and for ill, in the academic study of Buddhism. Hodgson was convinced, for example, that beneath the sundry local manifestations across the continent of Asia, there was indeed something called Buddhism, a view unusual for a colonial official situated amid the particular manifestations of the local religion. He wrote:

> But if the Buddhists, whether of the continent or islands of India, or of the countries beyond the former, still possess and consult the primitive scriptures of their faith, either in the original language, or in careful translations, made in the best age of their church, how can Buddhism in the several countries where it is practically used as the rule of life and of faith, fail to exhibit a common character as to essentials at least.[49]

At a time when Buddhist practices across Asia were regularly regarded as so many varieties of paganism, Hodgson seems here to anticipate the identification of Buddhism as a 'world religion' something that would not occur until several decades later.

Yet the description of Buddhism as a religious tradition that had originated in India and then spread throughout much of Asia would lead easily to a comparative valuation of the worthiness of the Buddhism of the past versus the worthiness of the Buddhism of the present, the worthiness of the Buddhism of India, long defunct, versus the Buddhism of Nepal, Tibet or China. Hodgson often sought to separate what he called 'genuine Buddhism' (knowledge of which can only be derived from texts) from the Buddhism he observed in

Nepal, which he regarded as encrusted with the accretions of compromise; he sought 'carefully to separate Buddhism *as it is* (in Nepaul) and Buddhism *as it ought to be*'.[50]

This view would be predominant over the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century. Buddhism had all but disappeared from India by the fourteenth century. When European missionaries, traders, and eventually, colonizers, reached South Asia, all that was left were its textual and architectural remains. What Buddhism had been in India could only be inferred. With the discovery of Buddhist texts by Hodgson and others, a kind of quest for the historical Buddha began, as philologists sought to determine what the original teachings of the Buddha had been. An original Buddhism (sometimes called 'pure Buddhism' or 'primitive Buddhism') was thus constructed by European scholars, using 'les textes et les monuments'. This 'Buddhism' was a creation of European scholars, and it was against this Buddhism that all of the Buddhisms of the modern Orient were to be judged, and to be found lacking.[51] And it was in light of this Buddhism (which Hodgson himself helped to create) that Hodgson judged the Buddhism of Nepal, with its laicized priesthood, to be a degeneration from the authentic source. Despite his experience with Amṛtānanda, or perhaps because of it, Hodgson had a vision that has continued to haunt scholars of Buddhism to the present day: that an original Buddhism exists somewhere in the texts that can be discovered and then described 'without reference to local interpolation'.[52]

How, then, should one explain the fame of Hodgson in the nineteenth century, and his obscurity in the twentieth? Before attempting to answer this question, it is appropriate to consider Hodgson's own assessment of the importance of his work, as contained in two quotations, quotations which, once again, display a profound ambivalence. At the conclusion of his 'Sketch of Buddhism' written, we recall, at the age of twenty-seven, Hodgson wrote:

> To conclude: with respect to the notes – that portion of this sketch, which is my own – no one can be more sensible than I am that the first half contains a sad jumble of cloudy metaphysics. How far the sin of this indistinctness is mine, and how far that of my original authorities, I cannot pretend to decide; but am ready to take a large share of it to myself. In regard to *this*, the most speculative part of Buddhism, it is sufficient happiness for me to have discovered and placed within the reach of my countrymen the *materials* for more accurate investigation, by those who have the leisure, patience, and a knowledge of languages for the undertaking; and who, with competent talents, will be kind enough to afford the world the benefit of so irksome an exercise of them.[53]

Here, Hodgson denigrates his own considerable efforts to describe the schools of Buddhist philosophy, dismissing them as 'a sad jumble of cloudy metaphysics', a sad assessment, regardless of the source of the clouds. He

averts to portraying himself as a mere collector, providing the texts that others, who possess the appropriate linguistic skills, might read and evaluate. But he does not hide his own contempt (even if he is being ironic) for the efforts of the textual scholar. Seven years later (in 1834), he would provide a more specific, and exalted, assessment of the importance of his work, as well as a more specific (and quite unironic) assessment of the work of others:

> [I] can only afford to remark in this place, that subsequent research had tended strongly to confirm the impressions that derived from my very learned old friend Amrita Nanda. The existence of an infinite number of Buddhas; the existence of the whole Dhyáni class of Buddhas; the personality of the Triad [that is, the three jewels of the Buddha, dharma, and saṅgha]; its philosophical and religious meanings; the classification and nomenclature of the (ascetical or true) followers of this creed; the distinction of the various schools of philosophy; the peculiar tenets of each school, faintly but rationally indicated; the connexion of its philosophy with its religion; and, as a result of all these, the means of speaking consistently upon the general subject, are matters for the knowledge of which, if Rémusat be not wholly indebted to me and my authorities, it is absolutely certain that I am wholly unindebted to him and his; for till he sent me his essay on the Triad, I had never seen one line of his, or any other continental writer's, lucubrations on Buddhism.[54]

The particular irony of this passage derives this time not from Hodgson's tone, but from his claim: apart from the first item on his list (the existence of an infinite number of buddhas), Hodgson was mistaken about each of the supposed discoveries. And it is clearly not the case that Rémusat and other European scholars were indebted to Hodgson's essays for providing the means of understanding Buddhism; as we have seen, that understanding was to a large measure mistaken.

Hodgson's legacy, thus, is a mixed one. He is remembered today, when he is remembered at all, for sending Sanskrit manuscripts (manuscripts that he himself could not properly read) to European scholars, thereby adding to the flood of texts in a variety of Asian languages that would set in motion the textual study of Buddhism. Hodgson's manuscripts would prove crucial for the study of Sanskrit Buddhism in particular and of Indian Buddhism more generally. In this regard, the assessments provided by Burnouf, and later Müller, were accurate. He is less well-remembered for a contribution that from one perspective is best forgotten: he provided a description of Buddhist thought that was filled with errors and misconceptions that would be repeated for generations.

Yet Hodgson remains a fascinating figure in the history of British colonialism, embodying the shifts and ambivalences that so often attended the relation between colonizer and colonized. Hodgson passes back and forth

between multiple poles. He expresses both a deep interest and a disdain for the doctrines of Buddhism; he expresses both a confidence and a suspicion in his native informant; he expresses both respect and contempt for the work of textual scholars; he expresses humility in describing his work as a collector of Buddhist texts (for which he should have been proud), but pride in his work as an interpreter of those texts (for which he should have been humble), renouncing fame as the former, fearing obscurity as the latter. He regarded the entire enterprise of seeking to understand Buddhist philosophy with both deference and dismissal.

But perhaps the polarity that is most instructive in attempting to assess the importance of Brian Hodgson in the history of the European study of Buddhism is that of the amateur and the professional. It was Hodgson's fate to live a long life, a life that saw sweeping changes in the production of knowledge. Over the course of the nineteenth century, authority would shift away from the amateur scholar and towards the professional scholar, away from the collector and towards the academic specialist, away from the traveller and towards the professor. If the European study of Buddhism is an academic discipline (which remains a question), and if that discipline has a founder, it is Eugène Burnouf and not Brian Hodgson. But Burnouf was only able to make such remarkable strides in his understanding of Buddhism because he had before him in Paris the texts that Hodgson had dispatched from Kathmandu. It was Hodgson's dispatch (which, in turn, would not have been possible without Amṛtānanda) that helped to make the transition from amateur scholar to professional scholar possible. It was Hodgson's work as a collector of Buddhism that would serve as the chief cause for his eventual obscurity as an interpreter of Buddhism.

The academic study of Buddhism was born with Hodgson's help, but it soon left him behind. In 1801, one year after his birth, the term 'Boudhism' appeared for the first time in English. In the 1890s, the decade of his death, German, French and Japanese expeditions to Central Asia would discover Sanskrit manuscripts, manuscripts of much greater antiquity, and hence from the scholarly perspective, much greater importance, than the manuscripts Amṛtānanda provided to Hodgson, and Hodgson provided to the world.

But among Hodgson's sometimes confused and confusing expositions, one encounters observations on the challenges faced by the scholar of Buddhism, expressed with remarkable clarity and insight. Hidden in his 'Amended Notes' to the 'Sketch of Buddhism', one finds the following passage:

> Owing to the vast extent and complexity of Buddhism – to its philosophy embracing a variety of very opposite opinions – to its mythology being blended with its philosophy – to a great number of leading terms in the former being common (though, of course, in more or less different senses) to all the various schools of the latter – and lastly, owing to our present ignorance how far and in what sense the followers of these diverse speculative systems adopted the whole of that which has come down to us as the practical religious system

> of the Buddhas [i.e., Buddhists], it becomes a very nice and arduous task to estimate, with any degree of correctness, the meaning of such detached statements as are presented to us, either by personal communication with these religionists, or by reference (any thing but complete) to their voluminous written authorities.[55]

This statement expresses the essential dilemma faced by the scholar of Buddhism, a dilemma that has remained largely unchanged since it was expressed in 1828 by the Assistant Resident at the Court of Nepal.

Notes

1 Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop, Volume 1: Essays on the Science of Religion*, reprint, Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1985, p. 187.

2 Brian H. Hodgson, 'Sketch of Buddhism, derived from Bauddha Scriptures of Nipál', *TRAS*, 1830, vol. 2, pp. 222–223. Of this letter, Burnouf wrote, 'Il faut lire la lettre à M. N. Wallich, qui précède l'essai dont je parle, pour apprécier le zèle désintéressé qui animait M. Hodgson, et la persévérance qu'il avait mise à poursuivre l'objet de ses recherches.' See Eugène Burnouf, *Introduction a l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1844, p. 3.

3 The evolution of this essay from manuscript to publication deserves a separate study. However, a rough outline can be provided here. Among Hodgson's personal papers preserved in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library is a manuscript of 'Sketch of Buddhism'. See George Rusby Kaye (ed.), *Minor Collections and Miscellaneous Manuscripts*, London, 1937, vol. 1, part 2 of *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages Belonging to the Library of the India Office*. The manuscript is found in no. 481 of the Kaye catalogue, pp. 176–220. In the current cataloguing system of the British Library, it is found in MSS Eur/Hodgson 18.

The manuscript is in two parts. The first (pp. 177–189, 198–220) consists only of the questions and answers that appear in published essay. The questions and answers, without numbers, appear in a larger script on the right hand column of the page, the notes appear in a smaller script in the left column. On the back of page 220, one finds the notation, 'Home 2 copies per Lady McNaughton and Clyde in January 1828'. Into this manuscript is inserted another manuscript, found on pages 189–197, which begins with the statement: '(To be added to the prefatory remarks already sent)'. On the back of page 197 is the notation, 'Dispatched to 14 Grafton St December 26, 1828'. This is the manuscript that would be published as Appendix V: Amended Notes to Mr Hodgson's 'Sketch of Buddhism' in volume 2 (1830) of the *TRAS*.

The essay published in the *TRAS* in 1830 contained significant additions to these manuscripts. It begins with the extract from the letter to Dr Wallich of 11 August 1827 cited above. That is followed by list of the titles of 218 'Bauddha Scriptures' (under 6 headings) in Devanagari script. This is followed by an extract from another letter to Dr Wallich, dated 17 October 1827, followed by another extract from a letter to Dr Wallich, dated 1 November 1827, followed by an extract from an undated letter to Henry Thomas Colebrooke, Director of the Royal Asiatic Society, presenting him with the 'Sketch of Buddhism'. The questions and answers follow, which are followed in turn by the notes. As mentioned above, Hodgson's additional remarks appear as 'Amended Notes' in the same 1830 volume of *TRAS*, in Appendix V, pp. lxxvii–lxxxii, where Hodgson provides amendations of ten notes. The Appendix begins with a statement from the editors, 'The following Memorandum was received from Mr Hodgson, subsequently to the publication of his "Sketch of

Buddhism", in the first part of this volume, and of course, too late to make the alterations he wished in the Notes appended to that Paper. The Council, however, have considered it but just to Mr Hodgson himself, as well as due to the Public, that all information they possess upon this abstruse point should be submitted in its most perfect form, and have accordingly directed the publication of this Paper in the *Appendix* to the Volume.' The amended notes themselves are preceded by lengthy and interesting remarks by Hodgson.

'Sketch of Buddhism' was reprinted in B.H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepál and Tibet: Together with Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology, and Commerce of Those Countries*, London: Trübner & Co., 1874, pp. 35–65. The version of the essay that appears in the 1874 collection differs in a number of respects from the 1830 publication, some of which can be noted here.

First, the extracts from the letters have been edited into a single narrative section, with references to the letters deleted. Hodgson included the following paragraph (which follows immediately upon the passage cited here) in his original letter; it does not appear in the 1874 collection:

> These considerations have induced me to present, without further delay, the accompanying paper to Mr Colebrooke [Director of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland], to whose sound knowledge if it be first submitted, there can be no danger of publication being made without sufficient warrant for its usefulness. Whether or not I shall persevere in the undertaking before hinted at, I can hardly venture to say; but from the larger information latterly collected by me with a view to its completion, I have drawn some notes in correction or enlargement of the paper now transmitted, and have placed them on its margin.

See *TRAS*, 1830, pp. 223–224. Second, the 'List of Bauddha Scriptures' in the original essay that was provided entirely in Devanagari, without transliteration, appears here in transliteration. Third, Hodgson made a number of changes to the notes of the essay. The amendations to the notes from the Appendix to the 1830 volume of the *TRAS* are incorporated, but Hodgson's extended remarks that precede the 'Amended Notes' are omitted; the notes are revised once again for the 1874 collection. Hodgson also added footnotes, which do not appear in the original, marked with asterisks and crosses.

4 Referring later in the essay to the *Guhyasamāja Tantra*, an important esoteric text, he writes, 'This is a very holy Tantra. It was kept from me long, but at last I got it'. See 'Sketch of Buddhism', p. 49, note marked with a double asterisk.

5 See Philip Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p. 10. For a history of Buddhist Studies, see J.W. de Jong, *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America*, Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1987. For a fascinating portrait of one scholar's forays into Asian Studies in the early decades of the nineteenth century, see Urs App, 'Note and excerpts by Schopenhauer related to volume 1–9 of the *Asiatic Research*' in *Schopenhauer-Jahrbuch* 79 Band, 1998, pp. 11–33.

6 Edward Brerewood, *Enquiries Touching the Diversity of Languages, and Religions Through the Chiefe Parts of the World*, Robert Brerewood (ed.), London: John Bill, 1614, p. 79. I am grateful to Tomoko Masuzawa for this reference.

7 When Marco Polo arrived in Sri Lanka on his return journey he described Adam's Peak:

> And I tell you they say that on this mountain is the sepulchre of Adam our first parent; at least that is what the Saracens say. But the Idolaters

> say that it is the sepulchre of SAGAMONI BORCAN, before whose time there were no idols. They hold him to have been the best of men, a great saint in fact, according to their fashion, and the first in whose name idols were made.

Marco Polo says that Sagamoni was the son of a king who left the palace and did 'betake himself to certain lofty and pathless mountains'. He also mentions the doctrine of rebirth: 'And they said that he had died eighty four times. For they say that when he died the first time he became an ox; then he died a second time and became a horse.' Polo, like the travellers who preceded and followed him, never identified the religion he encountered with the name 'Buddhism', referring to the monks he encountered simply as idolators. He concludes his description of Sagamoni Borcan (Śākyamuni and the Mongol term *burkhan*, meaning 'god' or 'deity') however, with high praise:

> And there he did abide, leading a life of great hardship and sanctity, and keeping great abstinence, just as if he had been a Christian. Indeed, and he had but been so, he would have been a great saint of Our Lord Jesus Christ, so good and pure was the life he led.

See Sir Henry Yule (trans. and ed.), *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*, 2 vols, 3rd edn, revised by Henri Cordier, New York: AMS, 1986; reprint of 1926 London edition, vol. 2, pp. 316–320. See also the extensive notes of Yule and Cordier, pp. 320–330 in the same volume.

8 George Roerich, *Biography of Dharmasvamin (Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal) A Tibetan Monk Pilgrim*, original Tibetan text deciphered and translated by George Roerich, with a historical and critical introduction by A.S. Altekar and K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute Historical Researches Series, Patna, 1959, vol. 2, p. 64.

9 See Michael Aris (trans.), *Jigs-med-gling-pa's 'Discourse on India' of 1789: a Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Lho-phyogs rgya-gar-gyi gtam brtag-pa brgyad-kyi me-long*, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of ICABS, 1996, pp. 37, 39.

10 George Turnour, *The First Twenty Chapters of the Mahawanso; and a Prefatory Essay on Pali Buddhistical Literature, Originally Pub. as an Introduction to the Above Mentioned Portion of the Mahawanso and to the Epitome of the History of Ceylon, and the Historical Inscriptions, Printed in the Ceylon Almanacs of 1833 and 1834*, Ceylon, Cotta Church Mission Press, 1836. Henry Thoby Prinsep wrote to Hodgson from Calcutta in a letter of 6 August 1835: 'Turnour of Ceylon is publishing his Translation of the Pali history which he says is full of Buddhist information – shall I put your name on the list we have already made out?' This unpublished letter is preserved in Hodgson's 'autograph book' at the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

11 Müller, *Chips*, pp. 190–191.

12 On Jones' theory and its supporters, see Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism*, p. 20. Hodgson writes:

> Formerly we might be pardoned for building fine-spun theories of the exotic origin of Buddhism upon the supposed African locks of Buddha's images; but it is now somewhat too late, in the fact of the abundant direct evidence which we possess against the exotic theory, to go in quest of presumptions to the time-out-of-mind illiterate Scythians, in order to give them the glory of originating a system built upon the most subtle philosophy, and all the copious original records of which are inshrined in Sanskrit, a language which, whencesoever primevally derived, had been, when Buddhism appeared, for ages proper to the Indian subcontinent.

See Brian H. Hodgson, 'Quotations from Original Sanskrit Authorities in Proof and Illustration of the Preceding Article', *JRAS*, 1836, vol. 5. Reprinted in B.H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet: Together with Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology, and Commerce of Those Countries,* London: Trübner & Co., 1874, pp. 66–67. (Reprinted by Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1991.)

13 The dates are those provided as the original dates of publication in the Table of Contents to *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet* (see below) and in Appendix C of William Wildon Hunter's *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson: British Resident at the Court of Nepal*, London: John Murray, 1896. However, at least in the case of the two papers published in the *TRAS* these dates are not accurate. For example, 'Sketch of Buddhism', which Hodgson dates as 1828 was indeed read on 28 June 1828, but not published until volume 2 of the *Transactions* in 1830. 'A Disputation Respecting Caste by a Buddhist', which Hodgson dates as 1829, was indeed dispatched to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society in a letter of 11 July 1829. However, it was not read until 1 January 1831 and not published until volume 3 of the *Transactions* in 1835. In the race to present new information on Buddhism, Hodgson was perhaps disposed to present his work according to the date of composition rather than the date of publication. Hodgson assembled these essays, rearranged their sequence, added the essay entitled 'The Pravrajyá Vrata or Initiatory Rites of the Buddhists, According to the Pújá Khanda', and published them in 1841 under the title *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*. They were republished in Hodgson's larger collection, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet.*

It is interesting to note that, at least in 1830, Hodgson regarded 'Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet' to be his clearest exposition of Buddhism. In Appendix V to *TRAS*, vol. 2, 1830, the editors report, 'It may be added, that in a Letter accompanying the present Memorandum, Mr Hodgson refers those who feel a desire to become better acquainted with the Metaphysics and Mysticism of *Bauddha* Philosophy and Religion, to a Paper upon that subject, in the sixteenth volume of the Bengal Asiatic Researches, which he considers the more perfect result of his labours in that particular branch of Oriental science.' See p. lxxvii. In 1861 Hodgson published 'Notice on Buddhist Symbols' in *JRAS*, vol. 16, but, for reasons that are unclear, did not include it among the 1874 *Essays*.

14 Upon receiving the Tibetan canon that Hodgson dispatched to Calcutta, Henry Thoby Prinsep wrote to him in a letter of 6 August 1835, 'This is indeed glorious and will redound to your immortal fame. I have told Csoma [de Körös] that he must on no account run away until he has read the whole of the Stangyur and made known its contents.' The letter is preserved in Hodgson's 'autograph book' at the Royal Asiatic Society in London.

15 For a list, see Hunter, *Life*, Appendix A, pp. 337–356.

16 Yet another measure of Hodgson's legacy in the development of European views of Buddhism, both scholarly and (by extension) popular, may be taken by identifying how many of the texts he dispatched to Europe were translated (partially or in full) during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These included, first and foremost, Eugène Burnouf's posthumously published translation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, *Le Lotus de la bonne loi: traduit du sanscrit*, Paris, 1852; Louis de la Vallée Poussin's, *Bodhicaryavatara, Introduction à la pratique des futurs Bouddhas, poème de Çantideva*. Extrait de la Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses, tomes x, xi et xii, 1905, 1906, 1907, Paris: Bloud et cie, 1907; Constantin Régamey, *Three Chapters from the Samadhirajasutra*, Komisja Orientalistyczna. Rozprawy, no. 1, Warszawa: Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, 1938; Philippe Edouard

Foucaux's *Le Lalita vistara, développement des jeux, contenant l'histoire du Bouddha Çakya-mouni depuis sa naissance jusqu'à sa prédication*, Annales du Musée Guimet, tome 6, Paris: E. Leroux, 1884; E.H. Johnston's *The Buddhacarita, or, Acts of the Buddha*, Panjab University oriental publications, no. 31–32, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1935–1936; D.T. Suzuki's *The Lankavatara Sutra: A Mahayana Text*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1932; F. Max Müller's translation of the larger *Sukhāvativyūha* appears in E.B. Cowell, Friedrich Max Müller and Junjirō Takakusu, *Buddhist Mahayana Texts*, The Sacred Books of the East, vol. 49, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1894.

17 Of the work, Max Müller, who had been a student of Burnouf, wrote, 'Though he modestly called his work an "Introduction to the History of Buddhism", there are few points of importance on which his industry has not brought together the most valuable evidence, and his genius shed a novel and brilliant light'. See Müller, *Chips*, p. 197.

18 See Burnouf, *Introduction a l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, p. 5.

19 Hodgson, 'Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet', reprinted in *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal*, p. 13. He also seemed irked by the credit that Alexander Csoma de Körös received for his studies of the Tibetan canon when it was Hodgson who had provided the texts that Csoma studied to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. He wrote in 1837, 'It is but justice to myself to add that the real nature of the Kahgyur and Stangyur was expressly stated and proved by me to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society some time before Mr De Körös' ample revelations were made'. See 'Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet', p. 23, footnote marked '†'.

20 Hodgson, 'Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet', p. 26.

21 The four schools are mentioned repeatedly in 'Sketch of Buddhism', and discussed especially in the notes. However, Hodgson considered his clearest rendering of the four schools to be his description of them in his 1828 essay 'Notices of the Languages, Literatures, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet'. See *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal*, pp. 22–27. See also note 12 above.

22 The precise derivation of the names of the schools and of their doctrines remains unclear. In an 1834 essay entitled 'Quotations from Original Sanskrit Authorities as Proof and Illustration of the Preceding Article' (that article being 'Sketch of Buddhism') published in the *JASB* (vol. v), Hodgson provided translations from Sanskrit texts in which the terms *svabhāva*, *īśvara*, *yatna*, and *karma* appear. This, of course, is no proof or illustration of the existence of these schools. For example, he mistranslates the famous statement, *svabhāvaśuddhāḥ sarvadharmāḥ svabhāvaśuddho 'haṃ* as 'All things are governed or perfected by Swabháva; I too am governed by Swabháva'. In fact, it means, 'Naturally pure are all phenomena, naturally pure am I'. Elsewhere, he misidentifies statements concerning *svabhāva* and *īśvara*, which are in fact describing tenets of the non-Buddhist Sāṃkhya school as Buddhist. The terms *karma* and *yatna* appear widely in Buddhist texts, but are not associated with any particular school. On the 'schools' and their legacy, see David N. Gellner, 'Hodgson's Blind Alley? On the So-Called Schools of Nepalese Buddhism', in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 1989, vol. 13.1, pp. 7–19.

23 Hodgson, 'Notices of the Languages, Literatures, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet', p. 23, note.

24 Some insight is provided by another set of questions (without answers) preserved among Hodgson's papers at the British Library (Kaye 1481 or MSS Eur/Hodgson 18, pp. 115–129) in which Hodgson lists 153 questions concerning Buddhism. Entitled 'Questions about Buddhism to Raj Guru' and dated July 1834, the questions

indicate that Hodgson remained fascinated (and fixated) on the doctrines of the 'four schools', six years after he wrote 'Sketch of Buddhism'. Here are some of the questions:

> 1 Bauddha philosophers divided into 4 schools – Aiswarika, Swabahvikas, Kârmika, Yâtnika, – how these agree with Madhyámika, Yogachara, Sautrantika, Vaibháshika of Brahmans? Are [illegible] named in any Sanskrit work?
> 2 What diagnosis of 1st school?
> 3 What of second?
> 13 Is not matter eternal: if not whence came it? And if it be, what is the meaning of Shunyata? When all is absorpt in nothingness, whence again arises matter?
> 37 When Avidya ceases this world ceases: what creates a new world out of nothing?
> 50 When the Buddhas attain nirván do they retain ahankár or consciousness of individuality? And if not, in what does bliss of nirván consist?

At the end of the list is written: 'NB A Sanscrit translation of these questions is in hands of Bandya for answer – partly answered and translated into Persian'.

25 An interesting example of Hodgson's paraphrase occurs in his notes to 'Sketch of Buddhism' in which he provides a clear and rather compelling description of the bodhisattva path. Hodgson then explains:

> These doctrines are very obscurely indicated in the Bauddha scriptures, whose words have another, more *obvious*, and very different sense; nor, but for the ambition of the *commentators* to exhibit their learning, would it be easy to gather the esoteric sense of the words of most of the original scriptures. I never was more surprised than when my old friend recently (after a six years' acquaintance) brought to me, and explained, a valuable comment upon a passage of *the Prajná Páramitá*.

See 'Sketch of Buddhism', p. 62. The *prajñāpāramitā* sūtras are renowned as having the structure of the bodhisattva path as their hidden meaning. Amṛtānanda may have brought Hodgson one of the many commentaries on these sūtras, perhaps Haribhadra's *Aṣṭasāhasrikāvyākhyā*, a work that Hodgson lists in 'Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet', p. 16.

26 See Burnouf, *Introduction a l'histoire du Buddhisme Indien*, p. 1.

27 See Gellner, 'Hodgson's Blind Alley', p. 15, note 2.

28 Hodgson's other major error was the introduction of the term 'dhyāni Buddha' into the Buddhist lexicon. In his *Buddhist Iconography*, Lokesh Chandra laments that Hodgson's outdated formulations, 'have unfortunately continued to sway the minds of historians of Buddhist art to our day' and notes the 'ingenious creations of Amritananda' whose 'fabrications have percolated down to our day'. See Lokesh Chandra, *Buddhist Iconography* (compact edition), Śata-piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1991, vol. 342, p. 55, 57. Hodgson also overstated the centrality of the *ādibuddha* in Nepalese Buddhism. See Gellner, 'Hodgson's Blind Alley', pp. 12–13.

29 See Hodgson, 'Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet', p. 11.

30 In his 1836 article in the *JASB* entitled 'Quotations from Original Sanskrit Authorities in Proof and Illustration of the Preceding Article' [i.e. 'Sketch of Buddhism'] Hodgson explained in a footnote:

> [*Padma-páni*] is figured as a graceful youth, erect, and bearing in either hand a *lotos* and a jewel. The last circumstance explains the meaning of the celebrated *Shadakshari Mantra*, or six-lettered invocation of him, *viz.*, *Om! Mani padme hom!* of which so many corrupt versions and more corrupt interpretations have appeared from Chinese, Tibetan, Japanese, Mongolian, and other sources. The *mantra* in question is one of three, addressed to the several members of the *Triad*. 1. *Om sarva vidye hom*. 2. *Om Prajnáye hom*. 3. *Om mani-padme hom*. 1. The mystic trifrom Deity is in the all-wise (Buddha). The mystic triform Deity is in the Prajná (Dharma). The mystic triform Deity is in him of the jewel and the lotos (Sangha). But the *praesnes Divus*, whether he be Augustus or *Padma-paní*, is everything with the many. Hence the notoriety of *this mantra*, whilst the others are hardly ever heard of, and have thus remained unknown to our travellers.

Hodgson's essay is reprinted in Brian H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepál and Tibet*, New Delhi: Mañjuśrı Publishing House, 1972. The passage quoted occurs in the footnote marked '†' on page 88.

If Hodgson's footnote had been read and understood, subsequent generations may have been spared from a host of fanciful interpretations of the mantra. F.W. Thomas in a note in the *JRAS* in 1906 wrote, 'I see no reason whatever for departing from the view of Hodgson . . . that *Maṇipadme* is one word'. See F.W. Thomas, 'Om Maṇi Padme Hūṃ,' *JRAS*, 1906, p. 464. But by the time Thomas gave Hodgson proper credit, it was too late, and misreadings of the mantra have continued to proliferate. On the vicissitudes of the mantra, see Donald S. Lopez Jr, *Prisoners of Shangri-La: Tibetan Buddhism and the West*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998.

31 See Hodgson, 'Notices of the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet', p. 28, footnote marked '†'.

32 On the use of native scholars, Max Müller wrote in 1862:

> Sanskrit scholars resident in India enjoy considerable advantages over those who devote themselves to the study of the ancient literature of the Brahmans in this country, or in France and Germany . . . [T]here are few large towns in which we do not meet with some more or less learned natives . . . These men, who formerly lived on the liberality of the Rajahs and on the superstition of the people, find it more and more difficult to make a living among their own countrymen, and are glad to be employed by any civilian or office who takes an interest in their ancient lore. Though not scholars in our sense of the word, and therefore of little use as teachers of the language, they are extremely useful to more advanced students, who are able to set them to do that kind of work for which they are fit, and to check their labors by judicious supervision. All our great Sanskrit scholars, from Sir William Jones to H.H. Wilson, have fully acknowledged their obligations to their native assistants. They used to work in Calcutta, Benares, and Bombay with a pandit at each elbow, instead of the grammar and dictionary which European scholars have to consult at every difficult passage. In fact, if it had not been for the assistance thus fully and freely rendered by native scholars, Sanskrit scholarship would never have made the rapid progress which, during less than a century, it has made, not only in India, but in almost every country in Europe.

See Müller, *Chips,* pp. 115–116. For an account of the often unnamed informants of early scholars of Pali Buddhism, see Ananda W.P. Guruge, *From the Living Fountains of Buddhism: Sri Lankan Support to Pioneering Western Orientalists*, Colombo, Sri Lanka: Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1984.

33 Sir William Jones, *A Grammar of the Persian Language*, 1771, 8th edn, London: W. Nicol, 1823, p. vii.

34 See Hodgson, 'European Speculations on Buddhism', reprinted in *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal*, p. 100.

35 See 'Sketch of Buddhism', p. 62.

36 See 'European Speculations on Buddhism', p. 100.

37 See 'Amended Notes' in *TRAS*, 1830, vol. 2, Appendix V, p. lxxviii.

38 Hodgson won prizes in 'Bengalese' at Haileybury in 1817 but seems to have undertaken the study of Sanskrit during his time at the College of Fort William. His biographer (who consistently lionizes his subject) writes that he:

> determined to read for honours in Sanskrit and the vernacular languages. But the first year in India is a trying one to an English constitution, and Hodgson did not in any way economise himself. . . . He carried away, however, from the College of Fort William a grounding in Sanskrit, and left behind him a reputation for proficiency in Persian, which was afterwards to serve him in good stead.

See Hunter, *Life,* pp. 30–31, 32.

39 See Hodgson, 'European Speculations on Buddhism', pp. 98–99.

40 See Hodgson, 'Quotations from Original Sanskrit Authorities in Proof and Illustration of the Preceding Article', p. 66.

41 Ibid, pp. 65–66, footnote marked '†'.

42 See Hodgson, 'Note on the Primary Language of the Buddhist Writings', reprinted in *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal*, pp. 121–122.

43 Hodgson would eventually concede in 1874 that 'the honours of Ceylonese literature and of the Pali language are no longer disputable'. See Hunter, *Life*, p. 279. These honours have subsequently been disputed.

44 See Hodgson, 'European Speculations on Buddhism', p. 110.

45 See 'Quotations from Original Sanskrit Authorities in Proof and Illustration of the Preceding Article', p. 69.

46 For example, Hodgson attacked Rémusat for translating the epithet of the Buddha *tathāgata* as 'thus come' instead of 'thus gone'. See 'European Speculations on Buddhism', p. 98. The Sanskrit term is in fact ambiguous, and is read both ways: as tathā+gata, 'thus gone' and as tathā+agata, 'thus come'.

47 See Hodgson, 'European Speculations on Buddhism', p. 110.

48 Müller, *Chips,* p. 196.

49 See Hodgson, 'European Speculations on Buddhism', p. 100.

50 See Hodgson, 'Sketch of Buddhism', p. 41. The emphases are Hodgson's. Hodgson, like so many who would follow him, saw Buddhism as originating as a simple ascetical philosophical system that developed into an abstruse and complicated religion. He wrote in his 'Amended Notes' to 'Sketch of Buddhism':

> Further, though Buddhism, considered as a system of religion, was originally characterised by a great degree of simplicity, there can, I think, be no doubt that the simplicity was early abandoned, when Buddhism came to be generally diffused among the multitude.
>
> A system inculcating the severest mental abstraction and physical privations (to say nothing of its speculative atheistical tendency) was not

> calculated for popular use; and it may be safely assumed that the same age which beheld Buddhism exalted to a public faith, saw it also materially modified in its essential characteristics. But at what precise period, and in what country, did these modifications take place? And how far are they entitled to be considered part and parcel of *genuine* Buddhism?

See *TRAS*, 1830, vol. 2, Appendix V, pp. lxxvii–lxxviii.

51 This 'original Buddhism' created in Europe, was adopted by many of the leading figures (both in Asia and the West) of what has been dubbed 'Buddhism Modernism' in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See Donald S. Lopez Jr (ed.), *Modern Buddhism: Readings for the Unenlightened*, London: Penguin, 2002.

52 See Hodgson, 'Amended Notes', p. lxxviii.

53 Hodgson, 'Sketch of Buddhism', pp. 64–65. Hodgson goes on to say, however:

> But I trust that the *latter* half of the notes, which embraces topics more practical and more within the range of the favourite pursuits of my leisure, will not be found wanting in distinctness; and I can venture confidently to warrant the *accuracy* of the information contained in it.

54 See Hodgson, 'Remarks on M. Remusat's Review of Buddhism', reprinted in *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal*, p. 103. To support his own assessment of the value of his work, Hodgson quotes in a footnote to this passage a letter of 16 January 1832 from Sir. G. Haughton in which Hodgson is told that 'a world of Chinese and Mongolian enigmas have been solved by means of your general and consistent outline of the *system*, but for which outline the said enigmas would have continued to defy all the Continental Oedipuses'.

For other praise of Hodgson's essays, see Hunter's *Life,* pp. 261–283. In a letter of 24 April 1860 preserved in the Hodgson 'autograph book' at the Royal Asiatic Society, Albrecht Weber praises Hodgson's essays but suggests that it is the manuscripts that will be of lasting value:

> The path you have opened has already been of the greatest service to a better understanding of that indeed most curious religion: Buddhism: but you may be sure, that the importance of the sources, which you have brought us to hand, will be acknowledged every year more and more.

Writing more than a century later, David Snellgrove remarked charitably of Hodgson: 'His perspicacity was truly amazing and much of what he wrote remains fully valid in terms of the considerable amount of later scholarly work to which his discoveries gave birth.' See David Snellgrove, *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism*, vol. 1, Boston: Shambhala, 1987, p. 3.

55 See Hodgson, 'Amended Notes', pp. lxxviii–lxxvix.

5

'THE ARCHITECTURAL MONUMENTS OF BUDDHISM'

Hodgson and the Buddhist architecture of the Kathmandu Valley

J.P. Losty

Introduction

Of all his multifarious activities undertaken to keep himself amused in the idleness more or less enforced by the situation of the British Residency in Kathmandu in the 1820s, it is Hodgson's work on the discovery of the texts of Indian Buddhism which is perhaps his most enduring legacy. His distribution of manuscripts to Indian and European libraries enabled other scholars to build upon the edifice which he first created in his own writings. Barred from close analysis of the contents of the manuscripts and a textual exposition of Buddhism through his apparently weak knowledge of Sanskrit,[1] his early papers on the nature of Buddhism are based on the interlocutory sessions which he conducted with his pundit Amritananda.[2] A more visible means of getting to grips with other aspects of Buddhism was afforded by the monuments of the Kathmandu Valley scattered all around him. The stupa (or *caitya* as they were called in Nepal) of Svayambhunath crowned a hill to the north-west of Kathmandu. Its history embodied that of the Valley itself. The huge *caitya* of Bodhnath lay to the north-east, that of Kirtipur to the south-west, while Patan to the south-east had a whole series of ancient *stupas* and *caityas*.[3] Every town in the valley had its own series of monasteries (*vihara*), courtyard buildings enclosing a shrine or a *caitya*, although the monasteries were then inhabited by families of Buddhists rather than by celibate monks.[4] Hodgson wrote to his sister in 1833:

> I have three native artists always employed in drawing from nature. . . . And my drawings [probably of natural history] now amount to two thousand. The antiquities too of the land afford me much entertainment. I pore over the pictorial, sculptural and architectural monuments of Buddhism by the light of the ancient books of the sect.[5]

Hodgson's great interest in the art of Buddhism is attested in the anonymous *Notes of the Services of B.H. Hodgson Esq.*: 'During his whole period of residence at Kathmandu, Mr Hodgson kept constantly employed, at his own cost, native artists and pundits to copy and explain every architectural, sculptural and pictorial monument of Buddhist origin existing in Nepal.'[6] His last paper on Buddhism published in 1861 mentions his 'immense collection of drawings taken from the temples, statues and pictures of Buddhism in Nepal'.[7] This chapter will explore Hodgson's large claim in the light of his surviving collections of drawings of the Buddhist sculptures and monuments of Nepal, and of their reception by contemporary scholars and subsequent generations, while his own long-lost writings on the subject form the subject of a separate appendix (p. 111). It is written very much in the nature of a preliminary survey of this important but long neglected body of material, whose proper evaluation must await further research.

Hodgson's collecting of antiquarian drawings

Hodgson's first two papers on Buddhism published in 1828 and 1830 both contain illustrations. The first contains a beautiful series of palaeographical plates, as well as four other plates of illustrations of the Buddhist architecture and divinities of Nepal. These were taken from a collection of drawings which were sent by Hodgson to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, along with his first donation of Buddhist manuscripts.[8] The plates include drawings of three kinds of *caityas* in elevation, of the five 'Dhyani Buddhas' and their consorts, and of various other Buddhist divinities. Their purpose is to illustrate the text's discussion of the entities whom Hodgson calls, on Amritananda's evidence, the five 'Dhyani-Buddhas' and their roles in the Buddhist universe; and the places on the *caityas* where images of these divinities are customarily installed.

The second paper published in London in 1830 has a different series of plates, which include another series of 'Dhyani Buddhas' and their consorts, their accompanying Bodhisattvas, other Buddhas including naked ones,[9] and other Buddhist divinities, arranged over three plates; and four plates of architectural subjects, the 'Chaitya of Deva Patana', a 'Kosthakar or composite chaitya', a 'Common Nipal temple', and a 'Nipaulese vihar'. These again are taken from drawings in Hodgson's collection, and all apart from the penultimate one, for which see p. 86, are described as the work of a 'Bauddha painter of Nipal in Mr Hodgson's service', 'a Nipaulese painter', or 'a Nipaulese artist'. Nothing further is disclosed in the paper about the authorship of these drawings or indeed their whereabouts: since they were lithographed in London, the originals must have been sent there, but they are not among the Hodgson drawings now in the Royal Asiatic Society, and must have been returned to Hodgson in Kathmandu.[10]

Both these seminal papers were subsequently reprinted in Hodgson's collected works in 1841 and 1874, but shorn of all their plates bar two of the palaeographical ones.[11] Since nearly all later references to Hodgson's

writings on Buddhism are to these later editions, rather than to the original much rarer publications, the sculptural and architectural drawings in Hodgson's collection, and Hodgson's interest in the art and architecture of Buddhism, tended to be forgotten. It is, however, true, that after this initial foray into illustrating his papers on Buddhism with engravings from drawings in his collection, he rarely seems to have tried this again. None of the original editions of his other papers contains plates until what must be his last paper on Buddhism, published in 1861, when he illustrates his argument on the prevalence of the divinities of 'northern' Buddhism throughout Indian Asia with several plates of their symbols sketched from 'the Saugata temples and images of the Valley of Nepal', to which he added some images taken from both sculpture and illuminated manuscripts.[12]

From the foregoing it is clear that Hodgson, although he rarely made use of them himself, both commissioned and collected paintings and drawings for the whole of his time in the Valley. The lists of his collections made in 1845 (see below) indicate that he was regularly buying what he could in the way of original Buddhist cloth paintings from both Nepal and Tibet, from what was available locally or from pilgrims from further afield, and that when the owners would not sell, he arranged for copies to be made. Near the time of his final departure, he had his artist Rajman Singh prepare a complete set of topographical views of the principal buildings in the Valley, although it is not clear from his writings whether this was as a memento of his time there or as an aid to future research.

After his brief residence in England and Holland in 1844 and on deciding to return to India, Hodgson divested himself of his vast collections of natural history specimens, but he still thought he had some use himself for his antiquarian drawings, which he carefully organized and listed in February 1845, with some notes added later in Darjeeling:[13]

> List of Buddhist drawings February 1845 *(left in my house at Darjeeling 1852)*[14] . . . First: loose sheets of paper in portfolio with Sanscrit explanations attached to them. I. Thirty-seven sculptural illustrations of Nepalese Buddhism drawn from images in stone found in the valley of Nepal. Drawn by Raj Man Sinh[15] a Bauddha chitrakar in Mr Hodgson's service & explained by Amerita Nanda a Buddhist Pundit. Also four coloured pictorial illustrations taken from illuminated sastras of Nepal. Total 41 sheets. II. Twenty-four architectural illustrations of Nepalese Buddhism taken from Buddhist temples in the valley of Nepal drawn & explained as before. Total 24 sheets.[16] III. Twenty-one pictorial illustrations of the Buddhism of Tibet, being original coloured pictures bought from the Tibetans with some enclosed transcripts of others what they would not sell. NB. These have no explanations attached. Total 21 sheets.
>
> Second: large drawings on cloth & roller. IV. Fourteen pictorial illustrations of Tibetan Buddhism . . . coloured thangkars obtained

from pilgrims – some explained by Ameritanand. V. Further pictorial illustrations of the Buddhism of Nepal – ten large coloured and uncoloured drawings – either purchases or transcripts.[17]

Duplicate series. . . . 51 sheets.[18]

In another list dated 18 July 1845, written when on board ship returning to India, Hodgson notes also the presence, but gives no further details, of 'architectural illustrations being views of temples, houses, &c in the valley of Nepal proper in numbered series, 50 sheets', and 30 ethnographic 'coloured & uncoloured groups of human figures & human heads'. These notes are incidental to the main part of this list, which is of more of his zoological drawings, some 1215 of which he was taking back to India. There are, however, no indications of his having used any of these archaeological drawings in Darjeeling, where his interests were concentrated elsewhere, except for the making up of those missing from the duplicate sets, and for what appears to be an early reference to a votive *caitya* in a Darjeeling cave added to one of the set of fifty architectural drawings (see p. 94). On being elected in 1857 a corresponding member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres of the Institut Impérial de France, and on his final return to Europe, Hodgson deposited a large part of his collections of architectural and iconographical drawings and paintings in the library of the Institut, in memory of the great Buddhist scholar Eugène Burnouf.[19] The gift consisted of the various sets of drawings and large paintings detailed in his February 1845 list under sets I–V, together with the now complete duplicates of sets I–II. Accompanying the drawings was a separate collection of relevant Sanskrit and Nepali manuscripts, principally lists and descriptions by Hodgson's pundit, Amritananda, relevant to the contents of the collection. Hodgson still retained control of the set of fifty drawings of Nepalese architecture. This latter collection is described by Hodgson on the cover sheet as 'Architectural series. I. 50 finished drawings done with the camera; II. 12 rough sketches'.[20] They are in fact topographical views of most of the important buildings in the Valley, setting the buildings in their architectural environment. They were made use of by both James Fergusson and Cecil Bendall (see pp. 81–82), but were returned to Hodgson and remained among his residuary papers in his Gloucestershire home.[21] They would seem to have been included in the final donation of his papers by his widow to the Royal Asiatic Society in London.[22]

During the research for this chapter, a further important set of architectural drawings came to light in the India Office collections now in the British Library. Just before his final return to Europe, Hodgson drew up a memorandum entitled 'Architectural Illustrations of Buddhism', occupying eight sheets of foolscap paper, dated 'Darjiling Sept. 1857'. He signed it 'B.H. Hodgson, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour', intending it to be a statement of his views on Buddhist architecture before giving his collection of drawings to the Institut Impérial in Paris. He had one of his artists reduce to six crowded double-sided pages of pen-and-ink drawings the information contained in both

his earlier series of architectural drawings. Another two pages of drawings illustrate various mandalas. The memorandum on Buddhist architecture and the accompanying eight pages of drawings were also presented to the Institut Impérial in 1857, but despite being accessioned and stamped, seem to have been returned to Hodgson, along with some other relevant material. Some time before 1879 they and the memorandum were presented to the Secretary of State for India, since letters from Hodgson to George Birdwood at the India Museum on 14 and 26 July of that year state explicitly that they had been so presented, and asks him to find out their whereabouts and what was to become of them as that Museum was to be broken up.[23]

Reactions to Hodgson's drawings

The various collections of drawings in Paris were first described in general terms, with a few more detailed notices of individual items, by Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire in 1863, who despite serious reservations about what he calls the obscene Tantric items, called for their complete publication.[24] By the end of the century, however, it was realized that the Buddhism of ancient India could not be recovered through what was thought of as the distorting lens of later developments in Nepal and, indeed, Tibet. So that in 1891 when Alfred Foucher, making use of Amritananda's accompanying texts, published descriptions of Hodgson's twenty-four large format Nepalese and Tibetan paintings in the only publication of even part of this collection, his supercilious attitude to Himalayan and any other material less than a thousand years old is very evident.[25] Still, Foucher called these large items 'original' Nepalese and Tibetan paintings, and contrasted them with the 'copies' as he called the accompanying drawings of images. As Hodgson's drawings of images were all copied from sculptures and paintings and given the names that they were recognized to be at that time, they were hence useless for compiling an inventory of original Buddhist images and their iconographical nomenclature, a field in which Foucher was then gathering material.[26] To add insult to the injury of his disdain for such material, he writes that he suspected some of them to be slightly fantasized.[27] See extract below for the reason for this suspicion.

Hodgson's set of fifty architectural views was first made use of by James Fergusson, when he was gathering material for his history of Indian architecture published in 1876.[28] Fergusson also had access to Hodgson's memorandum on architecture, since he writes:

> Nor did he neglect the architecture [of Nepal]. I have before me a short manuscript essay on the subject, only four sheets foolscap, with about one hundred illustrations, which, if fully worked out, would be nearly all that is required. Unfortunately there are neither dates nor dimensions, and the essay is so short, and the drawings, made by natives, so incomplete, that it does not supply what is wanted; but

> if worked out on the spot and supplemented by photographs, it might be all that is required.[29]

Fergusson subsequently returned the set of fifty architectural drawings to Hodgson, since Cecil Bendall records that Hodgson lent him the entire series of fifty views to take to Kathmandu with him on his visit of 1884–1885.[30] He seems to have done some work comparing drawings to actual architecture, and writes á propos of the drawing of the important Kvaccha-deval or Balakaumari temple dedicated to the Goddess outside Patan, that he could find no evidence of the existence of a small temple in the courtyard, and he suspects the artist of inserting 'a temple from another place to make a pleasing composition'.[31] It is this assertion that made Foucher accuse Rajman Singh of being inclined to fantasize. What the artist Rajman Singh has done here, however, as he also has done several other times in this series of drawings, is not fantasize, but amalgamate. This small temple, whose accompanying inscription allows exact identification in the light of the 1975 survey of the architecture of the Kathmandu Valley, is in fact the nearby temple dedicated to Sarasvati, another form of the goddess.[32] So this second series of drawings is in a topographical, indeed 'picturesque' tradition, which stretches back in India to the work done from the 1780s to the 1820s by artists such as William Hodges, Thomas and William Daniell, and George Chinnery, and, like all such ostensibly accurate topographical views, needs interpretation, but to label them as 'fantasies' is a gross exaggeration. Given the painstakingly accurate nature of all Hodgson's work in his accumulation of facts, if not perhaps his interpretations of them, this is a serious calumny, and James Burgess sprang to defend him from Foucher's comments: 'as very important illustrations of Buddhist iconography, authoritatively explained, these pictures should be published in full. No description or catalogue can supply this desideratum.'[33] Alas, Burgess's views held little weight against Foucher's strictures on the value of Hodgson's drawings in Paris, and they, and indeed the other collections of his drawings in London, have languished in obscurity ever since. They do not reappear in the published literature in any context, until the publication of the catalogue of the collections of drawings in the Royal Asiatic Society in 1991.

The artist's origins

Neither of the two sets of drawings in Paris commissioned by Hodgson has any inscription by which to identify the artists. They are of varying levels of competence and complexity as drawings, and appear to reveal various hands, distinctively Indian, Nepalese or Tibetan, which come out more particularly in the sculptural drawings. The list of his drawings, however, which Hodgson compiled in 1845, indicates that both sets in Paris are the work of his Bauddha *citrakar* Rajman Singh.[34] As well as being the artist of the architectural drawings now in the RAS, he is also believed to be the principal artist of Hodgson's

ornithological and zoological drawings now in the Zoological Society of London's library.[35]

As an hereditary Buddhist painter in Nepal, Rajman Singh would have been trained in the tradition of manuscript and *paubha* (cloth) painting. In Nepal in the early nineteenth century the tradition of drawing divinities in small for manuscript illumination was still alive in an unbroken tradition stretching back to the beginning of the eleventh century. Such artists were also used to drawing outline brush drawings of images in iconographic manuals. These normally take the form of folding-books (*thyasaphu*), with rows of images on each page, drawn by *citrakaras* as aides-mémoires for Buddhist (and indeed Hindu) iconography, and with each image identified by its traditional nomenclature.[36] Hodgson then had an already existing cache of trained artists to draw on. Such men had already worked for British patrons before, as indeed had Amritananda. For a brief period in 1802–1803 there had been an East India Company Resident in Kathmandu, Capt. William Knox, for whom Hodgson's future pundit, Amritananda of Patan, copied out in 1803 the Buddhist scripture known as the *Lalitavistara*.[37] The inside of the end cover shows excellent portraits of the pundit Amritananda and Capt. Knox, while the final miniature by a different and cruder hand shows the pundit actually presenting the manuscript (Plates 2–3).

Rajman Singh was probably too young in 1803 to have painted either of these scenes, but since he appears to have been with Hodgson from the beginning, he may well have been the artist of two of the four coloured drawings which are included with, although not numbered as part of, his Set I now in Paris, one of which is a particularly interesting example showing three different ways of depicting the five goddesses known collectively as the Pancaraksa goddesses (Plate 4). Take away the colour, and the outline drawing underneath is found in many of Hodgson's iconographical drawings (Figure 5.1). The habit taken from Tibetan painting of showing the peaks of the Himalayas is also common to both.

The collections in Paris

Hodgson's first two sets of drawings and their duplicates now in the Musée Guimet still retain their original wrappings, including envelopes of traditional Nepalese handmade paper, and in one instance a sheet of newspaper from the *Government Gazette*, Calcutta, dated 14 February 1825. On the wrappings Hodgson has written abbreviated details taken from his lists written in February 1845. Both sets consist normally of the East India Company's folio or foolscap paper with watermarks of the Company's shield and *VEIC*, and *J. Whatman*, with dates ranging between 1816 and 1825. The evidence therefore indicates that this part of the collection was begun shortly after 1820, with Hodgson's first arrival in Kathmandu as scarcely more than a boy, and probably was completed around 1825. Each drawing is accompanied by a lengthy description in verse by Hodgson's pundit Amritananda, in Sanskrit

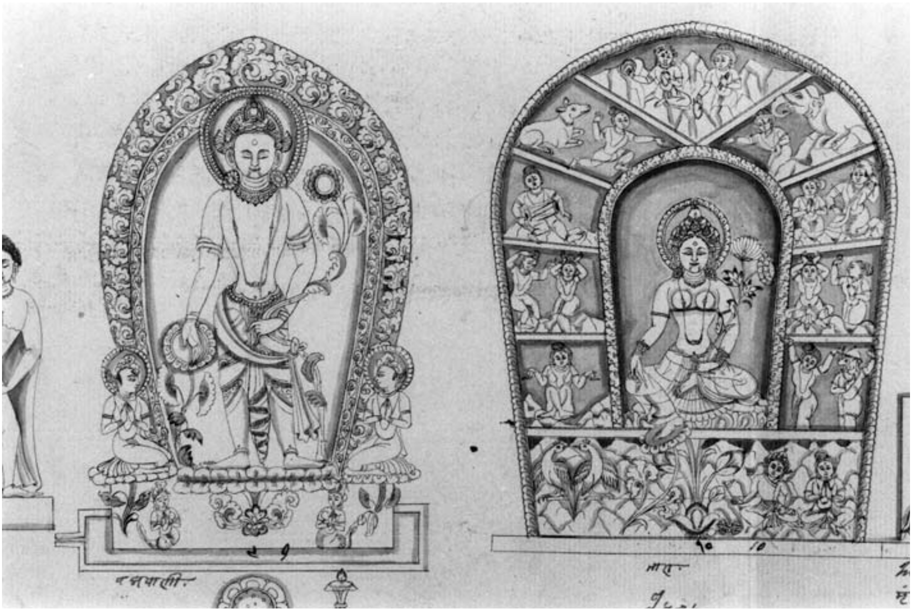


Figure 5.1 Padmapani and Tara. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set I, no. 25.

on a separate piece of paper, Nepalese and handmade, which is tied by string to the drawing.

These drawings display a mixture of techniques and stylistic influences which makes it difficult to believe, as Hodgson states categorically, that they are all from the one hand. The first set, illustrating Buddhist iconography, is particularly varied. Some are just simple line drawings, without shading.[38] Some claim to be representations of paintings.[39] Others are drawn more in accordance with iconographic manuals, and these seem distinctively Nepalese, like the outline drawings before colour of a manuscript or wall painting (Figure 5.2).[40] Some seem distinctly Tibetan, with skilled use of wash, swirling clouds and draperies (Figure 5.3),[41] while others seem more like contemporary Indian work (e.g. Figure 5.1, right).[42] It is possible, of course, that these differences in style represent Rajman Singh's transition from straightforward Nepalese draughtsman to a more all-round type of artist under the influence of Hodgson's direction. The basic technique used in all the Hodgson drawings in Paris is pen-and-ink, not the traditional brush, although it is true that some of the lines have been enhanced with brush work, while ink wash has often been brushed in inside the outlines to give some idea of modelling.

Hodgson may have been influenced in his decision to get this type of survey work undertaken by the surveys of Francis Buchanan in eastern India between 1807 and 1814, which are illustrated by pen-and-ink drawings of sculptures,

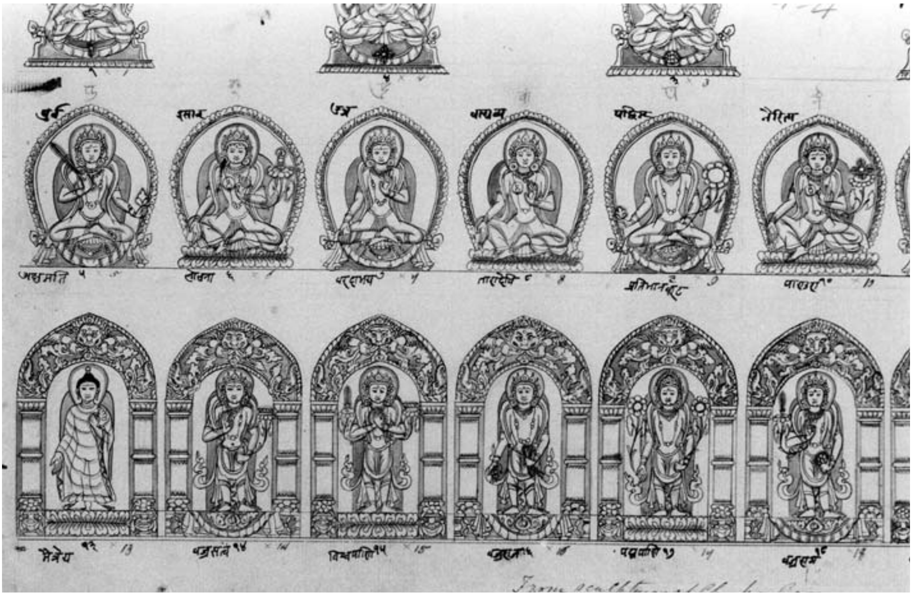


Figure 5.2 'From sculptures at Chapa Gaon'. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set I, no. 4.

both Hindu and Buddhist, and of various buildings, taken both in elevation and in perspective.[43] Buchanan's drawings were done by Indian artists trained in the surveying offices in Calcutta. Poised uneasily between European and Indian ideas on modelling and perspective, Buchanan's drawings are at least reliable in that the artists were trained to draw what they actually saw, which was a fairly new development in Indian art.[44] Hodgson in Kathmandu was attempting the same thing with Nepalese artists and presumably had to do the training himself. Only a detailed survey of this material compared with the images apparently represented will reveal the success of Hodgson's training, i.e. to what extent the drawings are accurate reproductions of the images mentioned in his notes, as opposed to being generalized renditions of these same subjects in line with the iconographic manuals which had been a feature of Nepalese art for many centuries. The drawings indeed appear remarkably accurate in terms of their iconography; and their identifications of course are consonant with what Buddhist scholars in Nepal at the time believed them to be. They can still shed a lot of light across the centuries. One of Hodgson's earliest drawings, now represented only by the printed version, is of the complex form of Avalokitesvara riding the three 'Haris', a form which Foucher in his work on Buddhist iconography fails to mention, possibly thinking it one of Rajman Singh's 'fantasies'.[45] The form was unattested in earlier Indian art until recently, when it appeared in a newly discovered eleventh-century

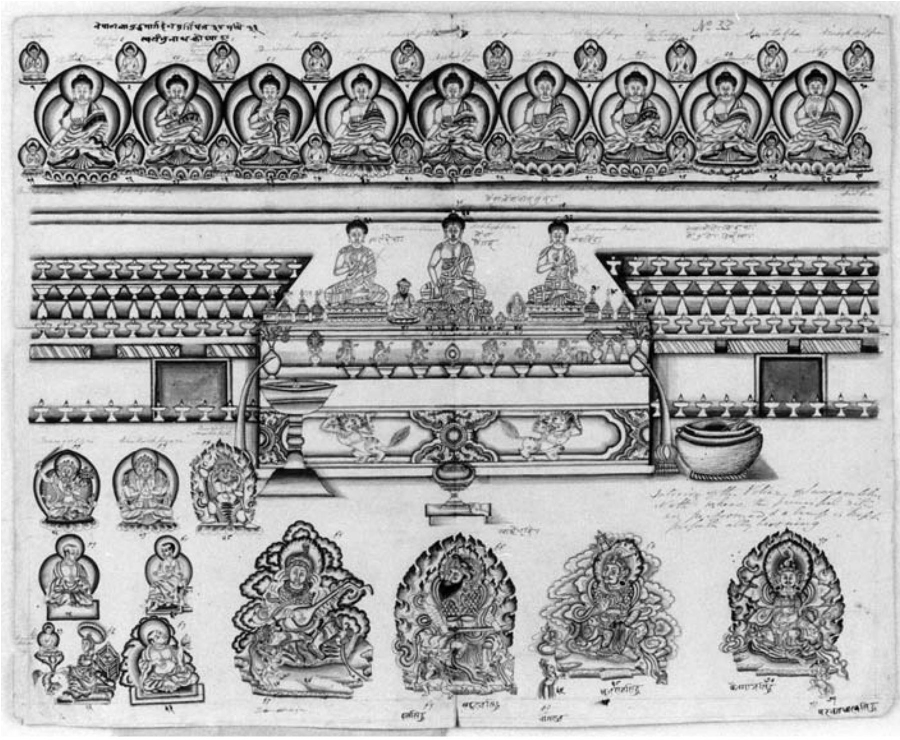


Figure 5.3 'Interior of the Vihara of Swoyambhu Nath where the principal rites are performed and a lamp is kept perpetually burning'. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set I, no. 33.

Bengal manuscript, thus vindicating Hodgson's original intuitive understanding of the importance of the material he was collecting.[46]

The second set of Hodgson's drawings now in the Musée Guimet consists of architectural subjects, of pen-and-ink drawings of *caityas*, temples, etc., with a little wash. They normally depict the monuments in elevation, and without depth, although wash is sometimes used for shading to suggest the depth of the hemisphere of a *caitya*. Such schematic outlines of elevations are also found in some rare earlier examples of Nepalese *thyasaphu* containing architectural drawings.[47] The tradition of such architectural line drawings is still a lively one in Nepal, and many modern books on the traditional architecture of the Valley contain drawings in elevation by Nepalese architectural and archaeological students which bear a remarkable similarity to those in the Hodgson collection in Paris.[48]

There is no list of these drawings, and the following was made on a recent visit:[49]

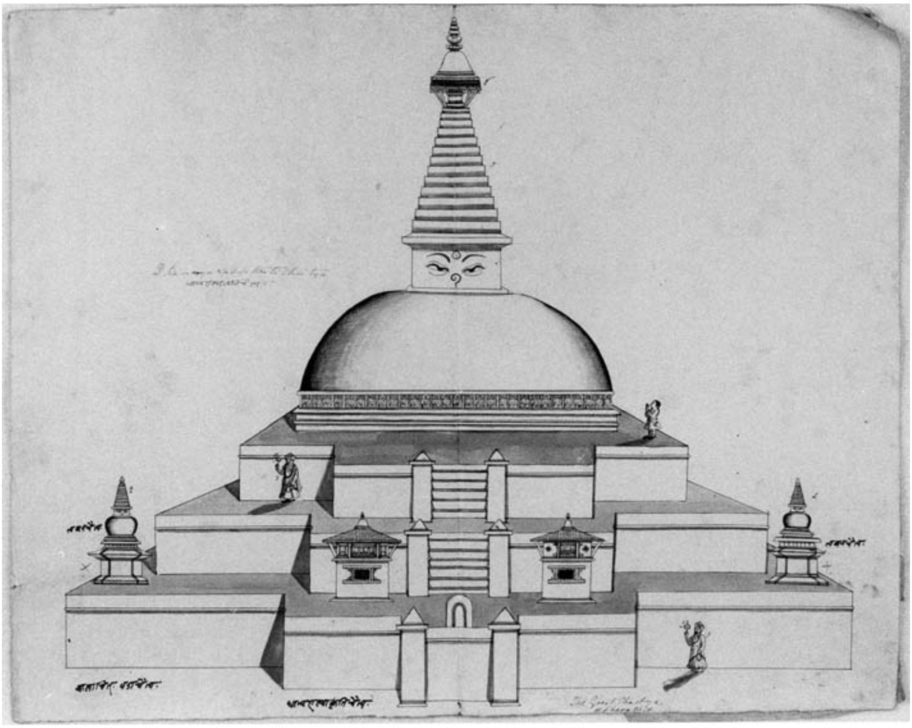


Figure 5.4 'The Great Chaitya of Khesa Chit'. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set II, no. 7.

1–3 A series of cut-up large folio sheets sewn together, showing sculptured series from the basal mouldings of the great 'Chaitya of Deo Patan, alias Cha Bahi'.[50]

4 'The Kirtipur Chaitya, portals of the 5 Dhyani Buddhas & symbols of Buddhasakti on the basal niches of Chaitya.'[51]

5–6 'Various small chaityas & one temple of the ordinary Hindoo form (sacred to Vishnoo) within the vicinity of the Great Chaitya of Swoyambhu Nath.'[52] [one double large folio and an attached single one]

7 'The Great Chaitya of Khesa Chit.'[53] (Figure 5.4)

8 'The great chaitya at Nambudha. NB. Figures detached in order to show them.'[54]

9 'Kirtipur Chikoun Deo. The great chaitya of Kirtipur – the 4 basal niches of – opposite the 4 cardinal points; and the area around the chief building à l'ordinaire.'[55] [large double folio with a single one attached]

10 'Small chaityas scattered around the area of the great one at Deopatan.'[56]

11 'Dharmadhatu Chaitya model, accd. to the sastra.' [similar to next, but not so detailed]

12 'Model of a Padmakar Dharmadhatu Chaitya, according to the Sastras' [with the elements named:] 'basement; secondary Posha with 8 niches for images; Mul Posha principal shrines; Garbha; Gala; Toran; Churra Mani; Dandor; Chattra; Gajur.'[57] (Figure 5.5)

13 'Model of a Vihar' [overhead view of a courtyard with a *caitya* in the middle][58] 'A Baha Newari = Vihar Sanscrit. If instead of a Chaitya in the middle there is a Kutāgār, then it is Bahi not Baha.'[59] (Figure 5.6)

14 'Model of an ordinary Nepalese temple of the Kutāgār sort.'[60] (Figure 5.7)

15–16 'Small chaityas in the area of the great one at Deopatan.'[61]

17 'Small chaityas scattered in the area or vihar of the great Chaitya on Mount Swoyambhu.'

18 *deest*.[62]

19 'At Dando Cha Bahil or Deopatan, chaityas in the area + models of Kalas or Gujul.'[63]

20 'Small stone chaityas at Ikhalkla, at Nagubah, a small octagonal Chaitya at Mahabuddh, vulg. Chi Baha Nani, with the several images belonging to it.'[64]

21 'The 4 great chaitya situated to the west and south [etc.] of the city of Patan, called in the vulgar tongue Lagan – Ipi – Teta & Puacha respectively. Dhānya rāsya chaityas.' [Half of a large folio – other half is:] 'The Great Chaitya at Deopatan called in the vulgar by Cha Baha & Dhando Chi Baha.'[65] (Figure 5.8)

22 'All 4 from the small stone chaityas in the area of Sambhunath Vihar.'

23 'A patrakar chaitya, a padmakar chaitya both from small originals in the area of Sambhunath.'[66] (Figure 5.9)

24 'Ipi bahi in the great Vihar, a small chaitya with the figures attached according to rule but detached here in order to exhibit them. A Kutagar Chudamani Kut chaitya.'[67] (Figure 5.10)

The list above contains most of the *mahacaitya* of the Kathmandu Valley (curiously the great *caitya* of Svayambhunath itself is missing), but concentrates mostly on the various types of *caitya*, monuments which range in date from (ostensibly) the time of Asoka (the four *caitya* outside Patan) to the early nineteenth century. As Hodgson rightly points out in his writings, the development of the *caitya* is the most distinctive contribution of Nepal to the long tradition of Buddhist architecture; and the many roofed pagodas, which seem so individual a feature, differ not at all in function and only superficially in appearance from wooden structures in India. Hodgson's writings on the *caitya* of Nepal will be considered separately. As for these drawings, they combine different ways of looking at these buildings. Most of them are strictly elevational line drawings with added areas of wash shading to provide the depth behind the more ornate pieces of sculpture, or also to add three dimensionality to what would otherwise appear to be the flat hemispheres of the *mahacaitya*. The drawing of the *mahacaitya* of Khasachit or Bodhnath (Figure 5.4)

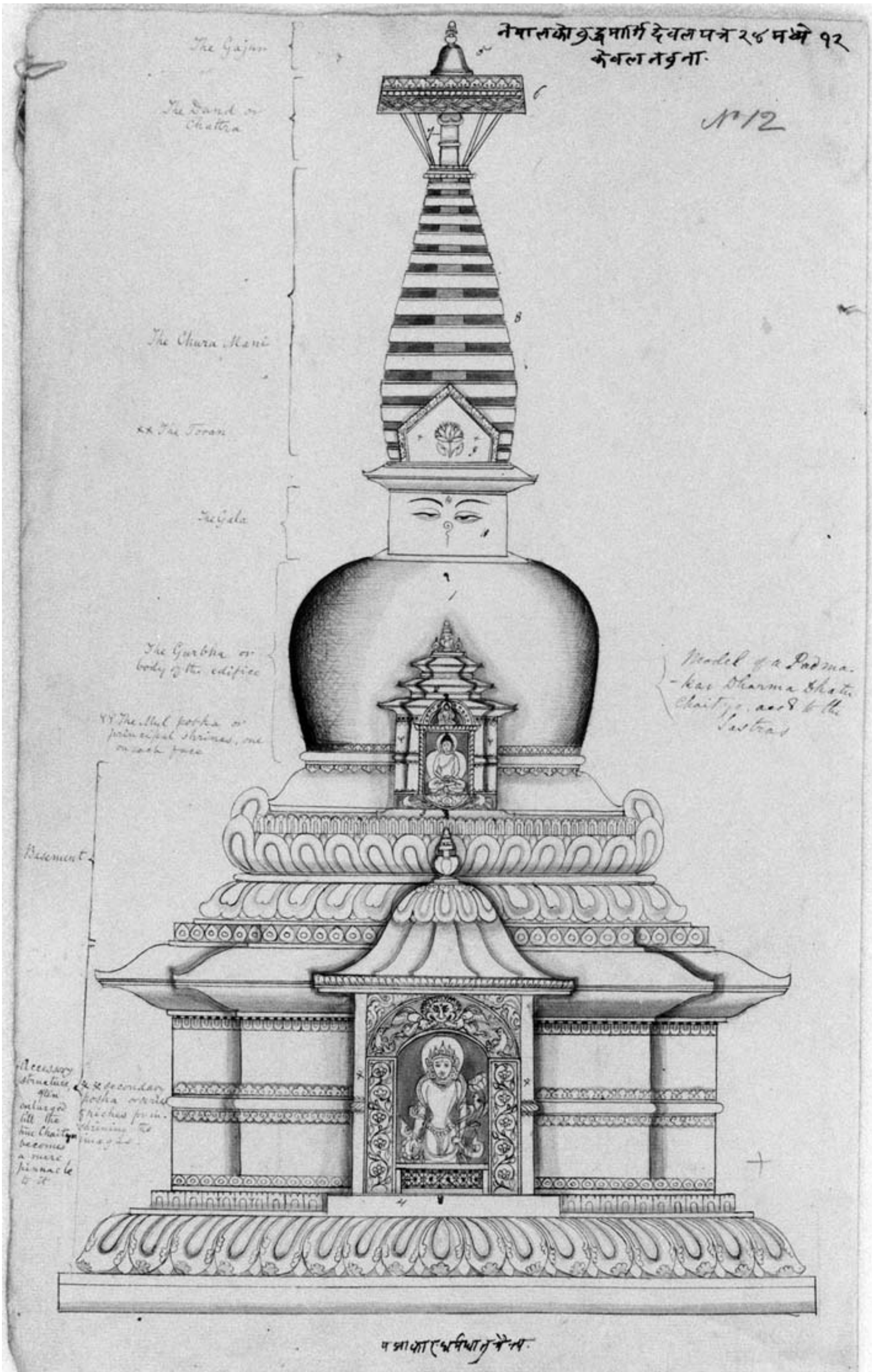


Figure 5.5 'Model of a Padmakar Dharmadhatu Chaitya, according to the Sastras'. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set II, no. 12.

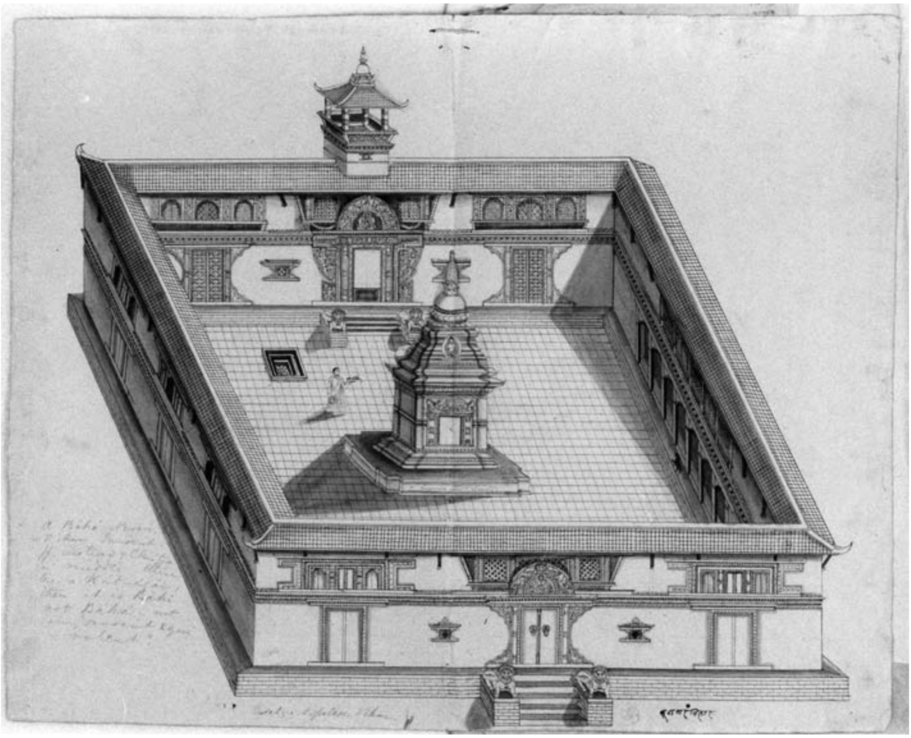


Figure 5.6 ‘Model of a Vihar’. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set II, no. 13.

for instance adds shading to suggest the fullness of the hemisphere as well as to differentiate the flat area of the plinths from the vertical. This, like a few others of the drawings, is not strictly an elevational drawing, since the draughtsman has imagined himself at the level of the finial’s eyes, from which he can look down on and depict the remainder of the *caitya* in a three dimensional view. In this drawing and some of the others he has added directional shadows as well. This same technique is used in a few other of the drawings, while the octagonal *caitya* are drawn strictly in bird’s-eye view in order to bring out their peculiar shape.[68] Many of the drawings of *caitya*with attached images show the elevation of one side together ‘with the figures attached according to rule but detached here in order to exhibit them’ as Hodgson describes it (Figure 5.10).

Among the twenty-four large paintings and drawings on cloth (fourteen Tibetan and ten Nepalese, Sets IV and V) now in the Musée Guimet, which Hodgson collected all the time he was based in Kathmandu from Buddhist *viharas* in the Valley and from Tibetan pilgrims visiting the holy sites, the most interesting from the architectural point of view is the very large drawing in ink on cloth nearly three metres long by one metre high representing the

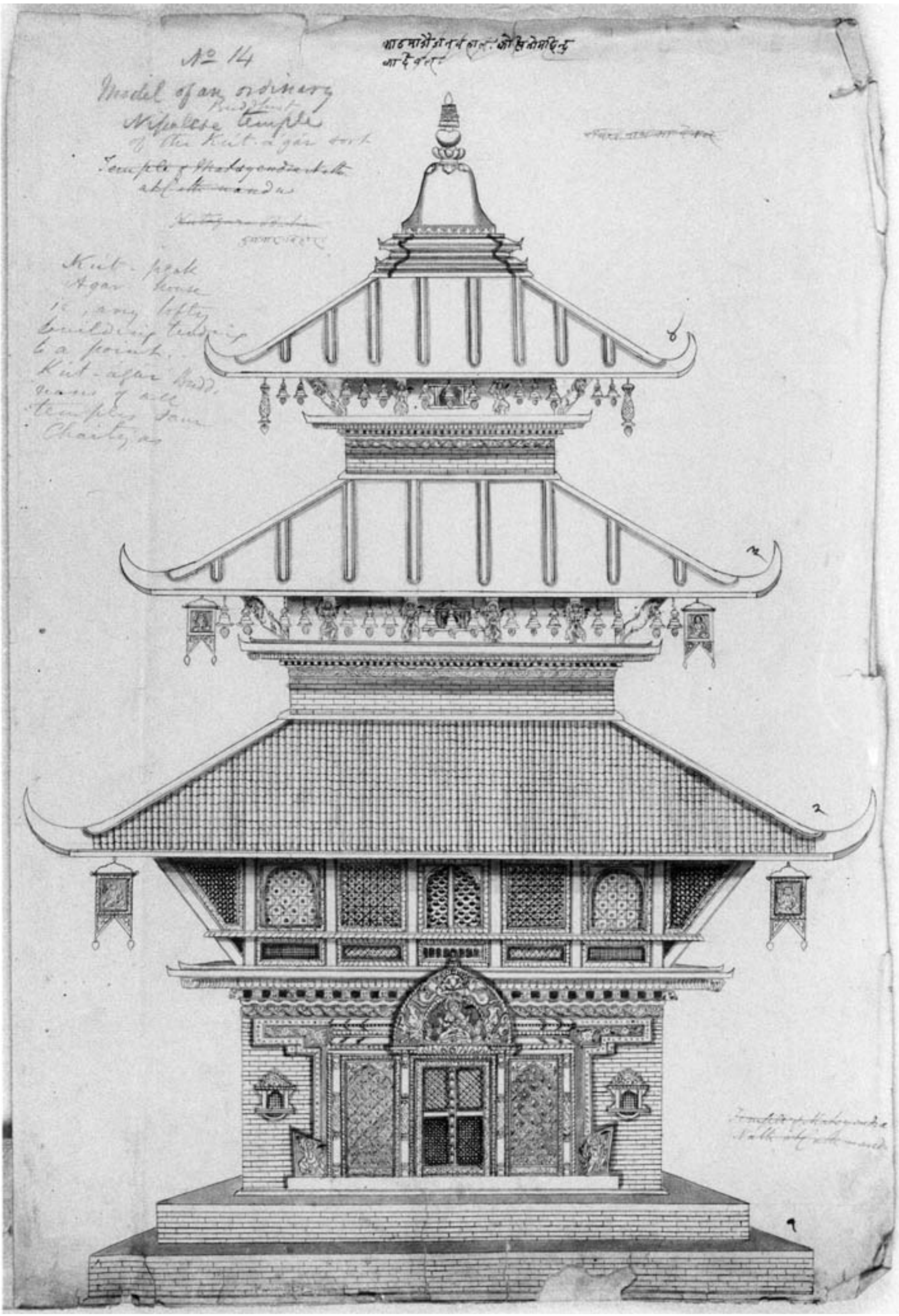


Figure 5.7 'Model of an ordinary Nepalese temple of the Kutāgār sort'. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set II, no. 14.

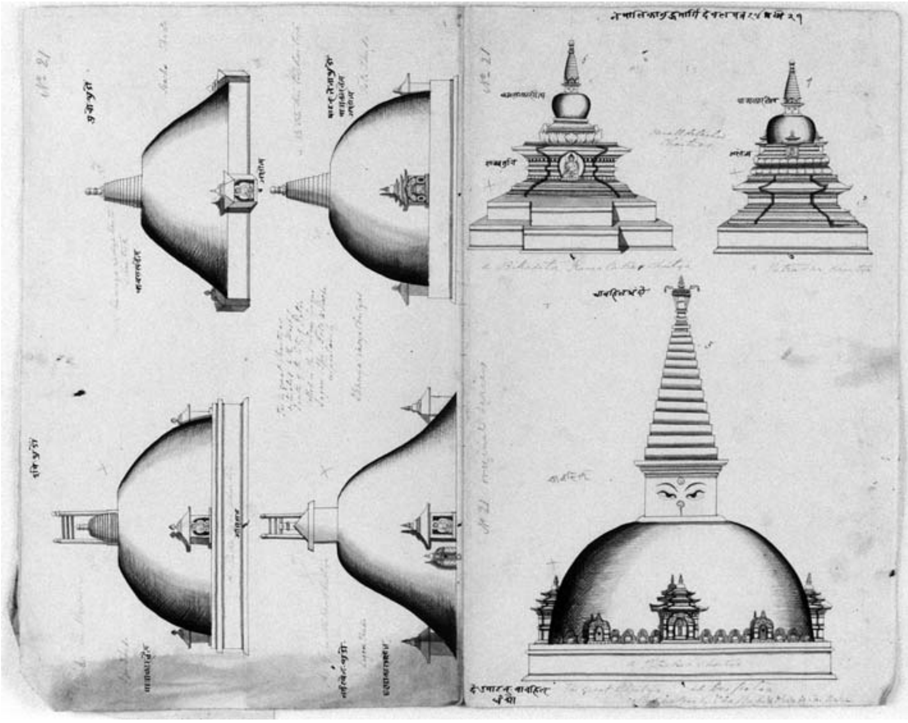


Figure 5.8 'The 4 great chaitya situated to the west and south [etc.] of the city of Patan' and 'The Great Chaitya at Deopatan'. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set II, no. 21.

rath yatra or chariot journey of the god Macchendrath (Figure 5.11).[69] Macchendranath or Matsyendranath, one of the principal deities of Nepal, is a peculiarly Nepalese form of Avalokitesvara who spends half the year at Bungamati, a village south of Patan, and the remainder at his temple in Patan itself (at Ta Baha). Every spring the god is drawn round the city for several weeks in a tall chariot, followed in a smaller chariot by another form of the Bodhisattva (Minnath) from the neighbouring temple at Tanga Baha. Since the drawing also includes the royal elephants with apparently the king in his howdah, it follows that the drawing must commemorate the very end of the festival. The background to the procession presumably represents the houses and palaces of Patan, not readily identifiable. The *mahaaitya* of Svayambhunath, although the other side of Kathmandu from Patan, is represented as very close, and looks down on the scene from on high. This is obviously a Hodgson commission, a unique recording in his collection of a contemporary event, but is unfortunately undated. In its complexity, however, and in its attempts to convey single point perspective, it seems closer in date

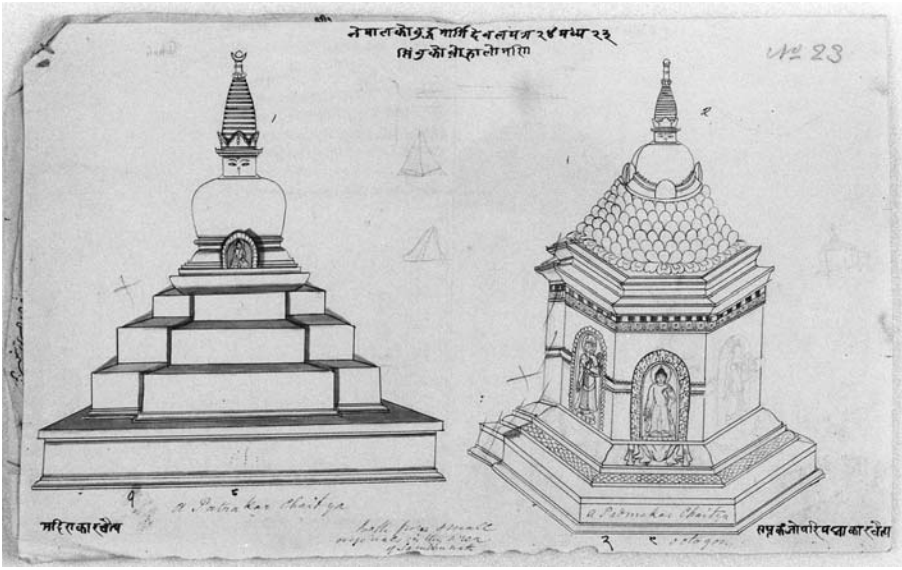


Figure 5.9 ‘A patrakar chaitya, a padmakar chaitya both from small originals in the area of Sambhunath’. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set II, no. 23.

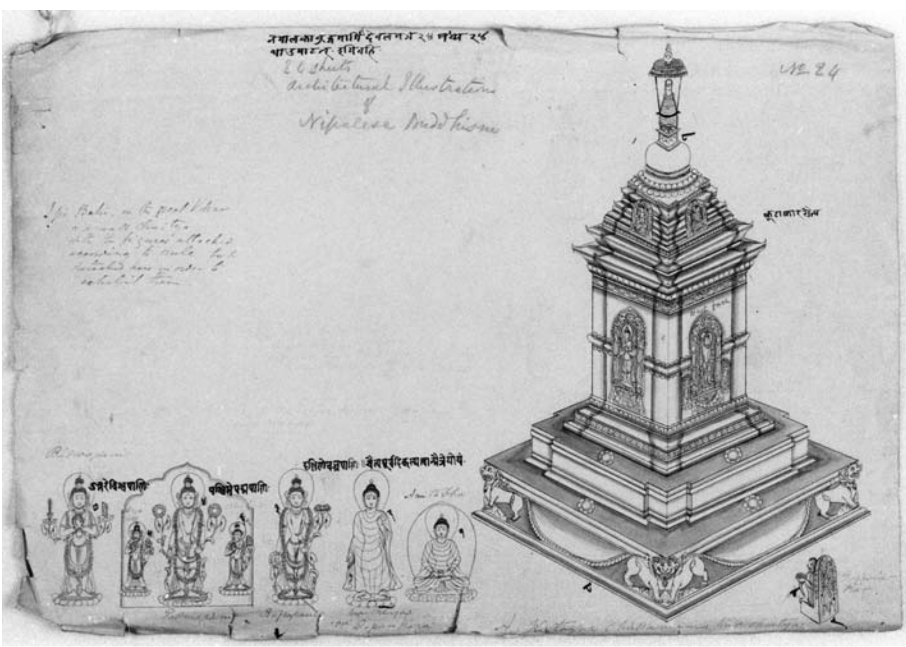


Figure 5.10 ‘Ipi bahi in the great Vihar’. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set II, no. 24.

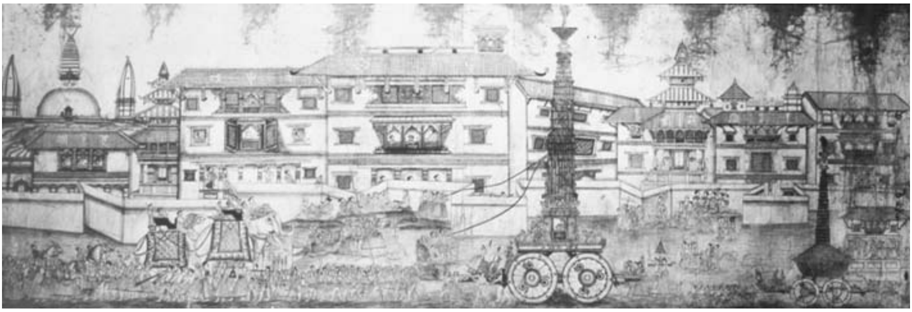


Figure 5.11 'The Rath Yatra of Matsyendranath'. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, Set V, no. 6.

to the picturesque series of architectural views of the early 1840s, than to the material of the 1820s which has just been considered. Unmentioned in any list, but part of the gift of 1858, is a set of ten 'Sivamargi', i.e. Hindu, iconographical drawings, as well as four large-scale wash or coloured drawings, one of them inscribed 'General Bhim Sen's house in hills', which explains an otherwise obscure isolated reference on another of Hodgson's lists.

The collections in London

The set of architectural drawings described by Hodgson on 18 July 1845 is largely the work of Rajman Singh, whose signature in *nagari* frequently appears. From the evidence of the watermarks in the paper, the drawings were all done in the early 1840s, immediately before Hodgson left Nepal in late 1843. The usual date watermark is 1841, but stray examples have earlier dates (1837 and even 1821). One drawing, however, has an impossible note by Hodgson that it was actually done in 1844 when he was in Calcutta and Europe.[70] The presence, however, of a votive *caitya* in a Darjeeling cave on one drawing suggests one of his artists added details to this set after Hodgson took up residence there in 1845.[71] Mention must be made here of one extra drawing in the RAS collection which has strong affinities with the architectural drawings in Paris: this is a large drawing on paper (57 by 166 cms) in pen-and-ink, wash and some colour of the principal elevation of the palace at Patan, done in a traditional way, with inscriptions marking directions and some measurements (Figure 5.12).

While the architectural drawings now in the Guimet are almost entirely elevational, this later set consists of topographical, indeed sometimes picturesque, views. The individual buildings are placed into their environment. The technique used for all of them is pencil, and many of them demonstrate considerable artistic skill in adding modelling through shading. Rajman Singh made use of the camera lucida, a device which allows an accurate tracing to

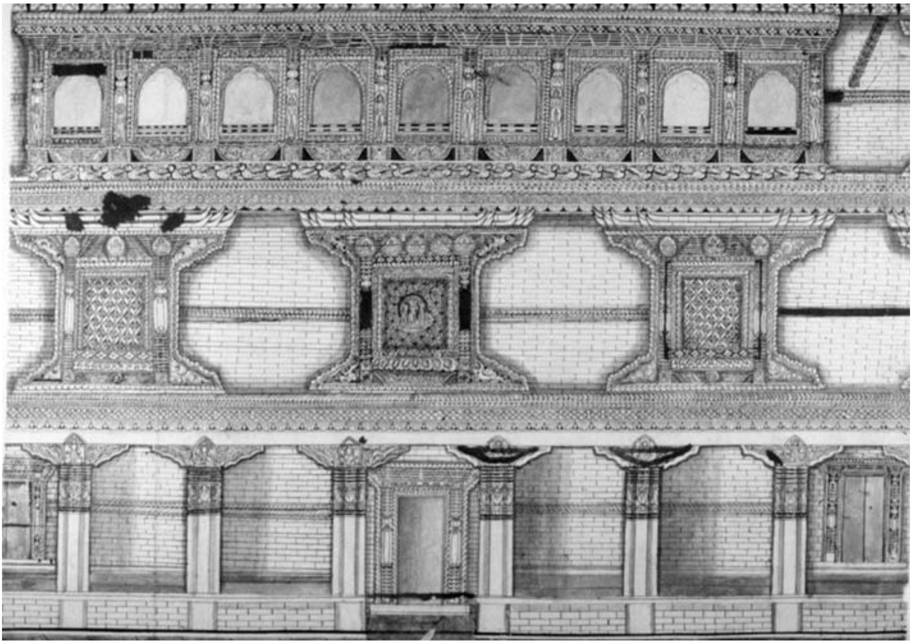


Figure 5.12 ‘Durbar at Patan’. RAS, Hodgson Collection, 022–068.

be made of a building or complex view, whose image is projected through a lens on to a sheet of paper (Figure 5.13). This has its drawbacks in artistic terms: as with a modern photographic camera, the field of vision appears unnaturally wide nearer the viewer.

There seems scarcely any evidence that Hodgson himself could draw well, yet it is clear enough from Rajman Singh’s work that he had by the 1840s seen drawings in the picturesque manner: the influence of George Chinnery, the wayward and brilliant artist whose landscape style was highly influential in early nineteenth-century Calcutta, has clearly penetrated to remotest Kathmandu.[72] This influence appears in the treatment of the relationship between buildings and trees, and in particular the inclusion of groups of people in picturesque poses or occupations, and of cows and other animals, the latter a most noticeable feature of Chinnery’s and his pupils’ style. The intermediaries in the transmission of this style from Calcutta are doubtless Chinnery’s star pupils Sir Charles and Lady D’Oyly,[73] with the latter of whom in particular Hodgson had begun a lifelong friendship in Calcutta at the age of eighteen.[74] The D’Oylys were also friends with Hodgson’s first principal in Kathmandu, Edward Gardner. When Hodgson returned to Calcutta for a brief period in 1822, he would inevitably have stayed with the D’Oylys at Sir Charles’s new posting in Patna both on his way down and on his way back again in 1824.



Figure 5.13 ‘The Lam Pati or Chief Court of Justice at Bhatgaon’. RAS, Hodgson Collection, 022–041.

D’Oyly used the pencil particularly well for his architectural studies, which tend to be weakened when he applied colour; and this attitude has obviously influenced the way Hodgson’s artists went about their work.

Another intermediary in the transition of the picturesque style to Kathmandu was Hodgson’s younger brother, Lt. William Hodgson (1805–1838) of the Bengal Artillery, who like other artillery and engineering cadets was trained to draw accurately during his cadet years at the East India Company’s Military Seminary at Addiscombe. He was likewise friends with the D’Oylys and he must have stayed with them at Patna. Examples of his youthful style imitating the manner of his hosts and of Chinnery are in the Hodgson Scrapbook now in The Natural History Museum, London.[75] William Hodgson, like his brother, found living in the plains a great trial to his health but as a military officer did not have the option of service in the hills. After the experience of the Bharatpur war, he was ill for more than two years from 1827, much of the time spent as his brother’s guest at Kathmandu. Although one of D’Oyly’s lithographic plates in his 1829 publication *Oriental Ornithology* has a background assigned to Brian Hodgson – a view of a Kathmandu temple[76] – it is entirely possible that this is a drawing by his brother. A very similar view of a temple entitled a ‘Common Nepal Temple’, inscribed as the work of Lieut. Hodgson, is published in Hodgson’s 1830 paper, and drawn, of course, fully in three dimensions in the European manner.[77] The view of the Residency in

Kathmandu which appears in Hunter's biography is based on another of the latter's drawings (Figure 3.1).[78]

A change is discernible in the drawing of architecture by Nepalese artists in the late 1820s, as they grew increasingly skilful and confident in the new manner. Rajman Singh had attempted an overhead view of a *vihara* in one of Hodgson's Paris drawings (Figure 5.6), some time around 1825, and a slightly different version of this drawing was published in Hodgson's 1830 paper, in which the *vihara* is seen from on high and drawn in an Indian perspectival manner, with the farther end of the building apparently wider than the nearer one (Figure 5.14).[79] Four further, more ambitious, drawings are to be found among Hodgson's collections in the Musée Guimet, which do not belong to any of his sets. These can be assigned to about 1830, since they demonstrate Nepalese artists getting to grips with the problems of landscape and topographical drawing which are particularly relevant to the series of drawings in the RAS. They, in some instances, show multiple perspective points. They include ink and wash views of General Bhim Sen's house in the hills (Figure 5.15), what seems to be an elevated view of the mountains beyond Swayambhunath, and another hilly view, of unknown location, showing multiple perspective points. A more traditional type of coloured painting,

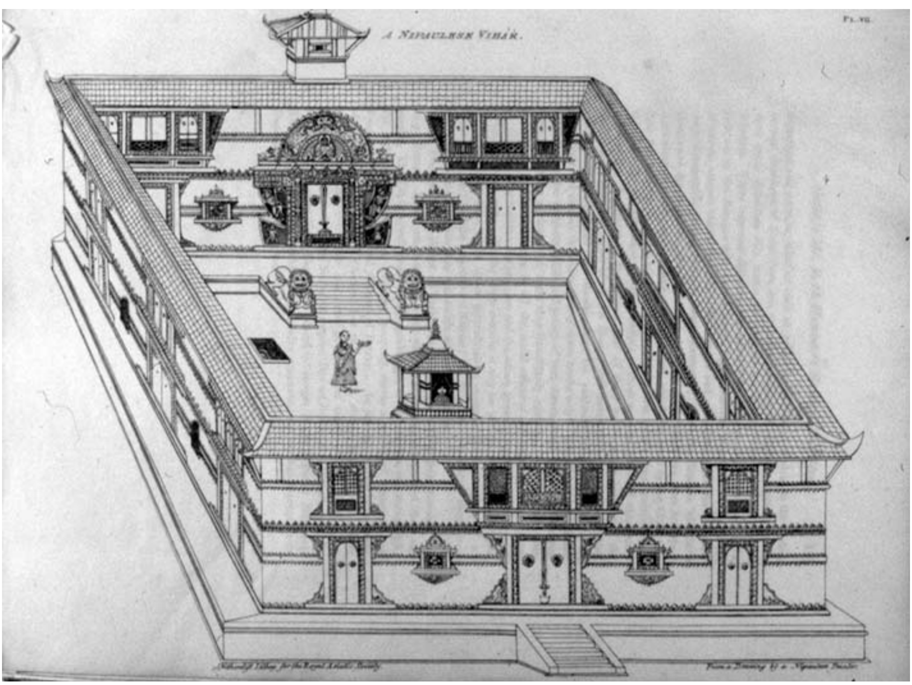


Figure 5.14 'A Nipaulese Vihar. From a drawing by a Nipaulese Painter'. Lithograph by J. Netherclift, pl. VII from Hodgson's 'Sketch of Buddhism', *TRAS*, 1830.

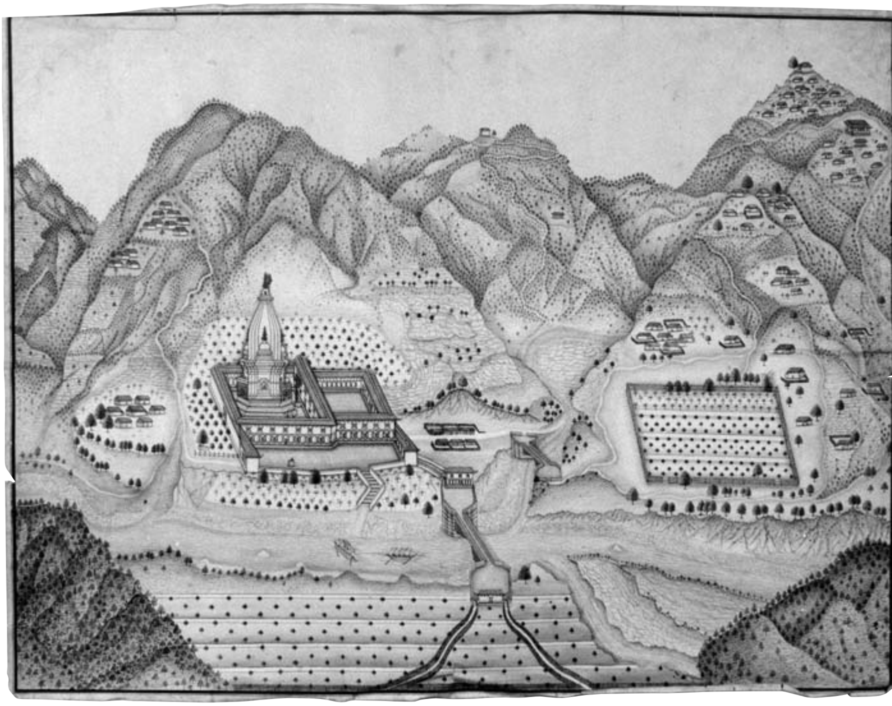


Figure 5.15 'General Bhim Sen's house in the hills'. Musée Guimet, Paris, Hodgson Collection, unnumbered.

somewhat damaged, shows the Durbar Square at Kathmandu, looking from the Kasthamandapa towards the Taleju temple. Interestingly the buildings shown are only those actually on the square itself. The buildings within the Hanuman Dhoka palace complex, even though its spires are visible from the apparent viewpoint chosen in the square, are excluded.

From such beginnings Hodgson's artists began to create topographical views of the monuments of the Kathmandu Valley, as well as studies of groups of its inhabitants. Apart from the 'official' set of such drawings, which was selected and perhaps redrawn to Hodgson's satisfaction in the early 1840s, there are other such views surviving in various collections which also reflect this process. Two drawings, for example, in a collection of Hodgson material which surfaced on the London art market in 1997 seem preliminary sketches, perhaps of the 1830s, of two subjects, the Nyatapola temple, Bhadgaon, and the Macchendranath temple, Patan, from which the worked-up versions now in the RAS were subsequently made.[80] The camera has very obviously been used to produce some of these architectural drawings, as in the dramatic perspective of the chief court at Bhadgaon (Figure 5.13).[81] Too

rigid an adherence to this mechanical aid can produce untoward results, as in the drawing of the Kumbheswara temple in Patan built 1392, one of the two in the valley with five tiers of roofs, as the whole building appears to lean backwards (Figure 5.16).[82] Often the drawings have been enlivened with figures done in a peculiarly Nepalese way, which are in turn based on the ethnographic studies which Hodgson also commissioned from his artists. Of particular interest in this respect is the drawing of the Balakaumari temple built in Patan in 1622, with interesting details of the musicians and brahmins being fed (Figure 5.17).[83] This is the drawing that Bendall and Foucher thought Rajman Singh had partly invented (see p. 81). Some of the drawings are of great architectural interest, such as the drawing of the Dhansa temple in Kathmandu built by Pratapamalla in 1656, now without its upper storey and with a wrongly reconstructed third storey.[84] Also in this category is the drawing of the Mirror-latticed palace in Bhadgaon, which was completely rebuilt even before the first photographs were taken in Nepal in the early 1860s, so that this drawing is a crucial piece of evidence for its original appearance (Figure 5.18).[85] Of similar interest is the unfinished drawing from the west of the Dattatreya temple in Bhadgaon, one of the most important in the Valley (Figure 5.19).[86] The Garuda pillar has been omitted, and a drawing of a *caturvyuhacaitya* with four standing Buddha images included instead, in a much lighter hand, and probably later. This drawing does merit some suspicion, since there seems to be no such *caitya* in Bhadgaon. On the other hand, behind the Dattatreya temple, can be seen the Pujari Math, one of the most famous buildings in Nepal for its wooden carved balconies and window screens, which in the 1840s clearly was only three storeys high and did not yet have its attic storey.

Rajman Singh's drawings in this set are intensely interesting not only for what they depict but for their style. Although many artists from South Asia drew topographical scenes for British patrons, mostly in a matter of fact way, it was given to few to be able to create an individual picturesque style of their own. After Hodgson left Nepal in 1843, this tradition of Nepalese picturesque views was continued first of all by Rajman Singh himself, who worked for the new Resident in Kathmandu from 1843–1846, Sir Henry Lawrence, since work with his *nagari* signature is among Lawrence's collection of Nepalese drawings.[87] Some of the drawings done for Lawrence are worked-up versions of sketches which are in Hodgson's collections in the RAS.[88] It is almost certain that Rajman Singh followed Hodgson to Darjeeling in 1845.[89] Darjeeling itself, which was then in an area dominated by Sikkimese culture and Lamaism, could not have supplied suitable artists. Hodgson certainly employed Nepalese artists (who worked in Rajman Singh's style), both to record new specimens and to work-up his original collection of natural-history drawings for publication, and also to add further details to his archaeological drawings.[90] Many of these drawings bear new Nepali inscriptions. Other artists remained in Nepal, trained in the picturesque topographical style, and work from these men found its way into the collections of Henry Oldfield,

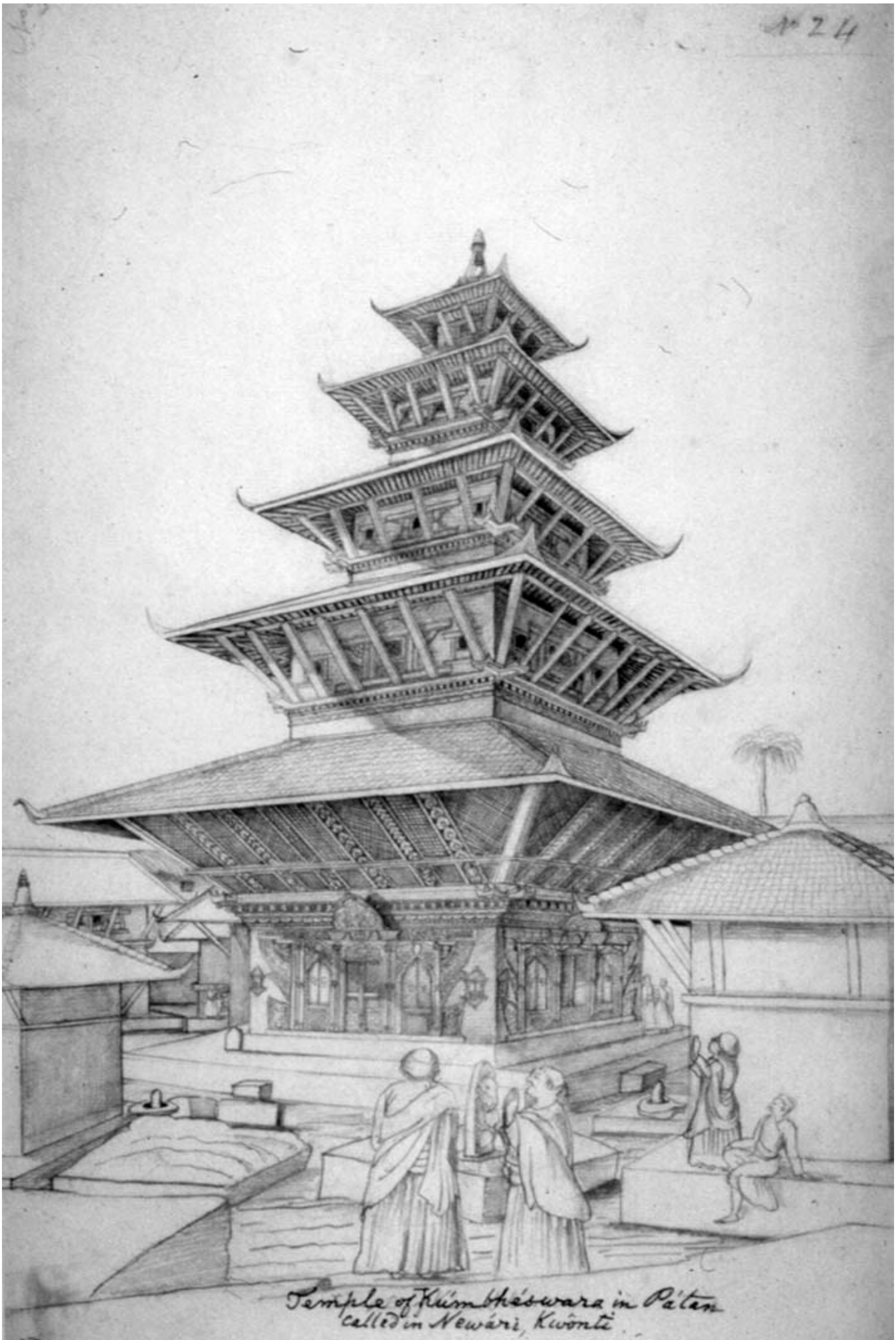


Figure 5.16 'Temple of Kumbheswara in Patan'. RAS, Hodgson Collection, 022–024.



Figure 5.17 'The Kwacche Dewal of Patan'. By Rajman Singh. RAS, Hodgson Collection, 022–021.

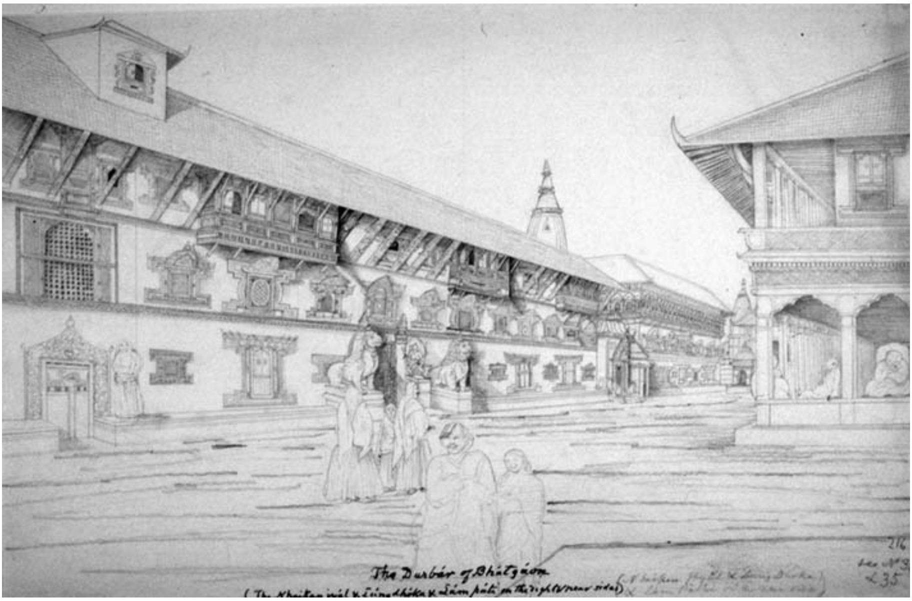


Figure 5.18 'The Durbar of Bhatgaon'. RAS, Hodgson Collection, 022–042.



Figure 5.19 'The Temple of Dattatri at Bhatgaon'. By Rajman Singh. RAS, Hodgson Collection, 022–047.

Residency Surgeon in Kathmandu from 1850 to 1863.[91] Daniel Wright, one of Oldfield's medical successors in Kathmandu, also acquired some drawings in the same style, which he published in 1877 in his *History*.[92]

Hodgson's conclusions on the Buddhist architecture of Nepal

In this series of essays on various aspects of Hodgson's work and of his collections, it seems fitting to conclude by examining what Hodgson himself had to say about an important part of his collection. He did not collect for its own sake or for self-aggrandizement, but only so that his collections could be of use to scholarship. The examination of his Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts he left mostly to others, but on the architecture, principally the Buddhist architecture, of Nepal, he made himself an expert, so that his essay of 1857, reproduced in the following appendix, sums up his scholarship in this field. A letter to George Birdwood written 14 July 1879 concerning an article in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* reveals something of his feelings in the matter of Indian architecture:

> I dare say that you have seen Rajendra Lal Mitra's Buddha Gaya article which has just reached me and that you will probably agree with him in his high estimation of Indian architecture. I would here add that it was under the influence of sentiments similar to our own

> relative to Indian art that 40 years ago I caused a native of Nepal to delineate assisted by the camera lucida a series of illustrations of Nepalese architecture. And, pace Ferguson, those drawings have a significance independent of the plans and measurements lacking which Mr F set them aside as unuseable. Don't such drawings speak for themselves? I think so, though but for Lord Ellenborough the plans and measurements would in time have been forthcoming as well as many other things, of the character of which you may find by referring to the memorandum appended to them when they were presented to the Secretary of State for India and which was printed but not published by me in my Notes of Services.[93]

Following the system of Amritananda, Hodgson divides Buddhist Nepalese architecture into three categories: *Caityas*, which he has illustrated with six pages of drawings, and discusses their development in Nepal at length; *Kutakaras*, or temples, which he does not differentiate from Hindu models whether Indian or Nepalese, and hence does not discuss in this essay on Buddhist architecture; and *Mandalas*, which although not proper buildings, were nonetheless classed as structures in the traditional system used by Amritananda, and which Hodgson illustrates with two pages of drawings. Both of these latter sheets are attributed to the artist 'Rajbeer Chitrokar Nepal'.[94] This suggests that these sheets at least were prepared in Nepal prior to 1843; although Hodgson suggests in his letters that the other six sheets also were prepared in Nepal, they were certainly added to later, since on one of them is a drawing of a *caitya* in Darjeeling.[95] As will be seen in the following appendix, there are close references to the drawings of the *caityas* in Hodgson's text, whereas there are none such to the mandalas. Instead, also given to the Institut but now in the British Library, are sheets with lists of deities corresponding to the numbers marked on the relevant mandalas.[96] The drawings of individual buildings or *caityas* are crowded on to these sheets, sometimes one in front of another, as if this represented their physical positions. They are often three-dimensional buildings, interpreted through the perspective viewpoints adopted in the series of the early 1840s.

Hodgson's work on Nepalese Buddhist architecture is both summed up and epitomized by his Memorandum. This displays both knowledge of and respect for the material culture of Nepalese Buddhism, but reveals Hodgson's lack of scholarly training very clearly. Even for a pioneer, as Hodgson was, the accumulation of facts is simply not sufficient, for they need to be interpreted in the light of an overall grasp of the subject. His facts are not systematized or presented properly, so that the unknowledgeable reader will have difficulty making much sense of it; and he displays a distressing tendency to ride off on his favourite hobby horses or to refight old battles. The accompanying drawings are similarly arranged without properly being systematized, for example drawings of the *mahacaitya* are spread over two different sheets, with his *lingakara caitya* between. His earlier drawings of the 1820s are

similarly disorganized, key buildings are missing, and there is no attempt to arrange structures in any kind of a logical way. It is true that at this time Hodgson was struggling to get to grips with many aspects of Buddhism and Newar culture, and had not worked out the logical inter-relationships of the various *caityas*. Yet in between the early set and the final set accompanying his Memorandum, Amritananda had written his *Dharmasangraha* summing up his knowledge; but Hodgson admits to his terminology for his *caitya* being different to that coined by his pundit. Like George Eliot's Dr Casaubon, who took so long to accumulate his materials for his *magnum opus*, that he became unable to write it, Hodgson's vast accumulations left him no means or time to systematize them even for himself. Unable to publish them properly himself at a time when the freshness of new material would have added to the accumulating stores of knowledge about Buddhism in the early nineteenth century, by the time scholarly attention was paid to them their purely local relevance made them unpublishable.

Yet the architectural drawings are a precious reminder of the harmonious beauty of traditional Newar architecture, and are indeed our earliest accurate records of it. Subsequent alterations, demolitions, and earthquakes have lessened that heritage, so that these drawings are important as documentary evidence for an earlier state of the buildings. Only now, after their long neglect, can their true importance be realized, for the light which they shed on the material culture of the Kathmandu Valley in the early nineteenth century, and on the development of Buddhist architecture in the Valley during the previous one and a half millennia.

Notes

1 But see Hodgson's letter to N. Wallich of 1827, quoted in B.H. Hodgson, 'Sketch of Buddhism Derived from the Bauddha Scriptures of Nepal', *TRAS*, 1830, vol. 2, p. 223:

> Having in his [i.e. Amritananda's] answers quoted sundry *slokas* in proof of his statements; and many of the scriptures whence these were taken being now in my possession, I was tempted to try the truth of his quotations. Of that, my research gave me in general satisfactory proof.

2 See B.H. Hodgson, 'Notices of the Languages, Literature and Religion of the Bauddhas of Nepal and Bhot', *Asiat. Res.*, 1828, vol. 16 and also 'Sketch of Buddhism'.

3 The term *stupa* in Nepalese usage seems confined to the four most ancient mounds around Patan. Even Svayambhunath is called the *Mahacaitya*. See Niels Gutschow, *The Nepalese Caitya: 1500 Years of Buddhist Votive Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley*, Stuttgart/London: Edition Axel Menges, 1997, pp. 7–8.

4 Mary Slusser in *Nepal Mandala: A Cultural Study of the Kathmandu Valley*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982, explores Nepal's history and sacred geography, and places the monuments in their context.

5 W.W. Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson; Resident at the Court of Nepal*, London: John Murray, 1896, p. 79.

6 B.H. Hodgson, *Notes on the Services of B.H. Hodgson*, London: privately printed, 1883?, p. 29. The India Office Library catalogue gives this anonymous, unpublished and privately printed work to Hodgson's biographer Sir William Hunter, but it is clear from one of Hodgson's letters in the Bodleian Library quoted below (p. 103) that in fact he wrote it himself.
7 B.H. Hodgson, 'Notice on Buddhist Symbols', *JRAS*, 1861, vol. 16, p. 393.
8 These are perhaps noted at the end of volume 16 of *Asiat. Res.* as 'Drawings of Hindu Temples in Nepal' received from Mr Hodgson, p. xvi. A letter to Nathaniel Wallich of 1 November 1827, quoted in Colebrooke's preliminary matter to Hodgson's 1830 paper, 'Sketch of Buddhism', p. 230, indicates that Hodgson had previously sent a large number of drawings of Buddhist sculptures to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. These seem not now to be known: they are not included in W.A. Brion, *Catalogue of the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1884, in which are recorded other sets of drawings.
9 Hodgson wrote in 1827: 'my old *Vajra Acharya* friend only recently gave me a peep at the esoteric dogmas; and my *Chitrakar* (*Bauddha* though he be) has only within these last twelve months brought me some esoteric pictures', 'Sketch of Buddhism', p. 230.
10 Some of the subjects of the plates of both the 1828 and the 1830 papers are to be found among the drawings later deposited in the Institut Impérial de France (see note 65), others not.
11 See B.H. Hodgson, *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*, Serampore, 1841 and *Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London: Trübner, 1874. The two palaeographical plates appear only in the 1841 edition.
12 See B.H. Hodgson, 'Notice on Buddhist Symbols'. An appended note to this paper publishes 'five sheets of drawings of Bonpa deities made for me by a mendicant friar of that sect named I'druphúncho' when on a visit to Darjeeling.
13 Royal Asiatic Society Hodgson papers, Box 3. There are various lists of his drawings in this set of his papers. The principal one for our purposes here is entitled '1845. List of archaeological drawings. Total 158' signed and dated by Hodgson at Canterbury 20 February 1845.
14 On his departure for a brief visit to Europe, where he was married.
15 Apart from this quotation the modern spelling of Rajman Singh is used throughout.
16 Internal evidence (see p. 83) indicates that Sets I and II of this collection date from the early 1820s, soon after Hodgson arrived in Kathmandu.
17 Sets III and IV are respectively small and large Tibetan paintings. Set V includes large format Nepalese paintings or drawings of the Macchendranath Rath Yatra, Mandalas, 1000-armed Lokesvara, Visvarupa, etc.
18 Sets I and II are now duplicated in their entirety. The RAS Hodgson list indicates that these duplicate sets were in 1845 incomplete, but that those missing in the duplicate set I (nos. 14, 34–36) were subsequently added (date unclear). Those missing from set II (nos. 10, 18–19, 22–24) had not then been made up. Clearly then Hodgson had the services of Nepalese artists in Darjeeling.
19 MSS 1896–1897. They were acknowledged in letters to Hodgson from the Institut of 13 August and 26 October 1858 (Autograph Book in Hodgson's papers in the RAS). They were transferred to the Musée Guimet in 1955.
20 Four further subsets are listed: 'III. 4 photographs from I. IV. Two of Nepal houses of chiefs given to me by the owners. V. The Bethia Lat, done by my man. VI. Seven sketches of Assam scenery done by the Khamti chief who shot the Budorcasor? taken for me.'
21 There are several references to Hodgson's intention of depositing this set in the India Office Library, and indeed one reference to their actually being sent there in 1873: see B.H. Hodgson, *Notes on the Services of B.H. Hodgson*, Appendix C,

p. 75. Clearly they were returned to Hodgson, possibly by Birdwood when the India Museum was broken up (see p. 81). Bendall also notes that Hodgson meant to present them to the India Office Library (Cecil Bendall, *A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research in Nepal and Northern India during the Winter of 1884–5*, Cambridge, 1886, p. 11). However, a note on the cover sheet, which Hodgson's executors clearly respected, states 'To go to the Royal Asiatic Society in case of my death, BHH Aug/69'.

22 See Raymond Head, *Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings, Engravings and Busts in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London: RAS, 1991, pp. 75–83, where the 50 drawings of Hodgson's main architectural collections are numbered 022–001 to 022–050. The last one in this set, numbered no. 50 by Hodgson, is in fact the drawing of the Asokan pillar at Lauriya Nandangarh (Hodgson's 'Betiah Lat'), while those of the houses of Nepalese chiefs seem also to be included in this set (043–046). The 12 'rough sketches' are numbered 051–062, and the 7 drawings by a Khamti chieftain 064/1–7. None of these drawings is a copy of anything now in the Musée Guimet as Head supposes. I am endebted to Head's catalogue for some of the bibliographical references in this chapter.

23 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Hodgson papers vol. 10. I am endebted to David Waterhouse for kindly furnishing me with copies of relevant passages from these letters. The drawings and memorandum were obviously transferred from the India Museum to the India Office Library and placed among the Sanskrit manuscripts. They are now in the India Office collections of the British Library, IO San 3976f, and are catalogued in A.B. Keith *et al.*, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit (and Prakrit) Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office*, Oxford, 1935, vol. II, no. 7778. Lying unsuspected and uncatalogued in the same folder was Hodgson's long lost Memorandum. The two pages of drawings of Buddhist mandalas became separated, and are now at IO San 3976d (Keith no. 7750).

24 See B. Saint-Hilaire, 'Dessins et Peintures bouddhiques offerts a l'Institut impérial de France par M. Brian Houghton Hodgson,' *Journal des Savants*, 1863, pp. 96–112, 175–189.

25 See A. Foucher, 'Catalogue des peintures népâlais et tibétaines de la collection B.H. Hodgson, à la Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France', in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, sér. I, tom. XI, 1891, pp. 1–30 (separately published Paris, 1897).

26 A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde d'après des Documents nouveaux*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Religieuses, tom. 13, Paris, 1900.

27 'Il faut la distinguer des liasses de dessins que M. Hodgson a également envoyés à l'Institut. Ceux-ci sont pour la plupart des reproductions ou des copies, exécutées au crayon ou à l'encre de Chine, par des dessinateurs indigènes d'après les bas-reliefs ou les peintures des temples népâlais. Chacun de ces dessins, outre une note annexe en sanscrit due aux pandits de M. Hodgson, porte son nom écrit sous la forme européenne: il est donc inutile d'en faire l'inventaire et il suffit d'en signaler l'intérêt pour l'étude de l'art et de l'iconographie du Bouddhisme népâlais. Est-ce la peine d'ajouter que, depuis un demi-siècle, cet intérêt a singulièrement décru? Il faut à présent des photographies, et il serait d'autant plus impossible de se contenter des dessins de M. Hodgson que ses dessinateurs sont suspects d'avoir plus d'une fois fait trop de part à la fantaisie.' A. Foucher, 'Catalogue des peintures népâlais', p. 2.

28 The drawing of Swayambhunath is reproduced in J. Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1876, Fig. 170 (not in the edition of 1867). Fergusson supplies a woodcut of a *kosthakar* temple for his Fig. 171, which the earlier edition (*A History of Architecture in all Countries*, London, 1865–1867) makes clear is actually taken from Hodgson, 'Sketch of Buddhism', pl. V in a simplified version.

29 See J. Fergusson, *Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 300, n. 1. The Memorandum of course was already in the India Museum along with the eight sheets of drawings.

30 C. Bendall, *A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research*, p. 11.

31 C. Bendall, *A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research*, p. 11, referring to RAS 022–021.

32 *Kathmandu Valley: the Preservation of Physical Environment and Cultural Heritage: a Protective Inventory*, Vienna: UNESCO, 1975, vol. 2, p. 185, contains reproductions of the Balakaumari temple and of a second one dedicated to Sarasvati, inventoried as P–200 and P–201, in the Kwachhen north-east of Patan proper. The second temple has lost its second storey, but it is therein described as the Sarasvati temple built in 1446, which corresponds to the inscription on his drawing by Hodgson: 'The lesser right hand temple sacred to Saraswati. Built by Tej Nam 567 [i.e. AD 1446–1447] Newar era'.

33 See J. Burgess, 'The Hodgson Drawings at Paris', *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 921–922. Burgess is attacking Foucher's catalogue, which is all description and no illustrations.

34 Although called by Hodgson a *citrakar* or member of the hereditary caste of artists, he nowhere signs himself with that title, preferring simply *raj man sinh* in *nagari* characters, nor does Hodgson add the title to his name when he uses it.

35 Mark Cocker and Carol Inskipp, *A Himalayan Ornithologist, the Life and Work of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 33–34.

36 See for example the rich collection of such *thyasaphu* described in P. Pal, *Art of Nepal: a Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art Collection*, Berkeley: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1985, pp. 145–181.

37 IO San 688: A. B. Keith *et al.*, *Catalogue of the Sanskrit (and Prakrit) Manuscripts*, vol. II, pp. 1420–1421. Although credited with being a Hodgson manuscript in this catalogue, this is not so; it came into Henry Colebrooke's hands in Calcutta, was no doubt removed with the rest of his collection on his departure in 1814, and ended up in the East India Company's library with the donation of his manuscripts in 1818. That Buddhist manuscripts could be procured in Nepal was therefore known to scholarly circles in Calcutta before Hodgson's arrival there, but no notice seems to have been taken of this manuscript. The first reference to this text in the *Asiat. Res.* is in fact by Hodgson in his 1828 paper.

38 For example, no. 26 'From the sculptures scattered over the whole area of the great Chaitya of Swoyambhu Nath cum Santipur', i.e. from the great Svayambhunath *caitya* just to the west of Kathmandu. In the absence of a catalogue of this material, and of Musée Guimet accession numbers, references here can only be to Hodgson's own numbering system and to his main inscriptions (each drawing has many other more detailed inscriptions).

39 For example no. 31 inscribed 'From pictures & sculptures – images of Buddhas various forms (from a Thāngā or picture used during devotions & suspended in temples on days of special worship)'.

40 For example no. 4 inscribed 'From sculptures at Chapa Gaon' in the south of the Valley.

41 For example nos. 32 'From the interior of the Vihara of Swoyam Bhu Nath' and 33 'Interior of the Vihara of Swoyambhu Nath where the principle rites are performed and a lamp is kept perpetually burning'.

42 Also no. 10 'From sculptures at Manjusri Vihar in Gopucch Hill', actually a small *caitya* beside the Svayambhunath *caitya*.

43 It is interesting to note that Buchanan actually went to Nepal in 1802–1803, but took no artist with him on that occasion (see Francis Hamilton, formerly Buchanan, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, Edinburgh, 1819). An earlier official traveller to Kathmandu in 1793 was William Kirkpatrick (*An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, London, 1811). He may well have taken an official artist with him or employed an artist there, but the illustrations were all redrawn for publication, several of them being the work of A.W. Devis.

44 Unlike in Nepal, there had been no tradition of drawing images in small in India since the thirteenth century. The key document here is BL OIOC MSS Eur D95, which contains nearly 250 drawings done between 1807 and 1814 during

Buchanan's surveys of the Bengal Presidency (G.R. Kaye and E.H. Johnston, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages Belonging to the Library of the India Office*, vol. 2, pt. 2, London, 1937, no. 171, 1). Unlike Hodgson, Buchanan wrote up his researches as survey reports, which were subsequently published in part, illustrated with some of the drawings, in R. Montgomery Martin, *The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, London, 1838.

45 Not mentioned in A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*. The form is Hariharihariavahanodbhava Lokesvara, Avalokitesvara on top of the three 'Haris' as vehicle – i.e. the image is depicted riding on top of Visnu who is on top of Garuda who is on top of a lion. For the printed version, see B.H. Hodgson, *Asiat. Res.*, 1828, last plate before p. 443.

46 J.P. Losty, 'An Early Indian Manuscript of the Karandavyuhasutra', in *Nalinikanta Satavarsika Dr. N.K. Bhattasali Centenary Volume; Studies in Art and Archaeology of Bihar and Bengal*, D. Mitra and G. Bhattacharya (eds), New Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1989, pp. 1–21, fig. 46.

47 Bernhard Kölver (*Re-building a Stūpa: Architectural Drawings of the Svayambhunath*, Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1992) published a small number of such manuscripts from the eighteenth century, which contain elevational drawings, nomenclature of parts, and measurements of the Svayambhunath *caitya* undertaken during restorations.

48 See for instance the beautiful line drawings by Bijay Basukala in N. Gutschow, *Nepalese Caitya*.

49 I am endebted to my own institution, the British Library, for financing my research trip to Paris in April 2002, and to the authorities of the Musée Guimet for their co-operation and subsequent assistance.

50 See B.H. Hodgson 'Sketch of Buddhism', pl. III; *Kathmandu Valley*, I, p. 139; N. Gutschow, *Nepalese Caitya*, figs. 315, 333.

51 See *Kathmandu Valley*, II, p. 261; N. Gutschow, *Nepalese Caitya*, fig. 375.

52 See B.H. Hodgson, 'Sketch of Buddhism', pl. V; *Kathmandu Valley*, II, p. 108.

53 The Bodhnath *caitya*. See *Kathmandu Valley* I, p. 137; N. Gutschow, *Nepalese Caitya*, pp. 96–97.

54 In the south-east of the Kathmandu Valley. See *Kathmandu Valley* I, p. 163; N. Gutschow, *Nepalese Caitya*, pp. 98–99.

55 See no. 4 above.

56 These are the Licchavi *caitya* dealt with by N. Gutschow, *Nepalese Caitya*, pp. 160–170.

57 Hodgson's 11 and 12 are composite *caitya* consisting of a square two-storeyed base with niches for images on each storey, surmounted by an hemispherical *caitya*, with a full spire. For the terminology, see, *inter alia*, N. Gutschow, *Nepalese Caitya*, p. 87.

58 This is another version of the drawing from which the illustration of a Nepalese *vihara* was taken for Hodgson (see 'Sketch of Buddhism', pl. VII) but with a slightly different *caitya* in the courtyard.

59 An otherwise undocumented distinction between the two basic types of Newar monastery or *vihara*. There is still much disagreement over the terms, but apart from subtle architectural differences, the main distinction seems to be that a *bahi* is the older type of monastery, founded away from towns for monastic retreat, while a *baha* is an essentially urban monastery. In fact, it is difficult to identify any true *vihara* which has a *kutakara* in the courtyard rather than a simple shrine or *caitya*, if by *kutakara* Hodgson means a multi-roofed temple, as Figure 5.14 suggests. He may be thinking of such complexes as the Ta Baha in Patan, the monastic compound containing the Matsyendranath temple, which is a *kutakara*, but which is not the shrine of the inhabitants of the *baha*.

60 See Hodgson's Memorandum in the following appendix for his definition of a *kutakara* temple. The drawing shows the elevation of a three-storeyed temple on a double plinth.

61 One of these is what Gutschow calls a *caturvyuhacaitya*, but Hodgson a *lingakara-caitya*, with four images of the seated Buddha around the central shaft, and a water-spout beneath.

62 Hodgson wrote on the cover sheet: 'NB. 10 no. 9 duplicate turns out to be 18 of original . . . 18 of original wanting', i.e. the missing 18 is the same as 10.

63 I.e. the crowning pot.

64 Ikhalakhu is in Patan (*Kathmandu Valley* II, pp. 133–134). Nagubaha, also in Patan, houses an interesting *caitya* form called by Gutschow (p. 261) *Ramya-kutagaracaitya* following the *Dharmakosa* of Amritananda, with characteristic 16 deities on two storeys – these are all shown in Hodgson's drawing. A *baha* in Patan north-east of the Darbar Square is known as Chi Baha Nani, but this is different from Mahabuddh.

65 The four ancient *caitya* outside Patan are at Lagan, I Bahi, Teta and Pulchok. For *dhanyarasya*, see Hodgson's Memorandum (p. 116). The drawing of the great *caitya* was used for pl. III of B.H. Hodgson, 'Sketch of Buddhism', while that of the Teta *caitya* outside Patan was the original for B.H. Hodgson, 'Notices', pl. 1, no. 3.

66 A *padmakara caitya* is what N. Gutschow, *Nepalese Caitya*, pp. 271–277, terms a *padmavali*, with rings of lotus petals between dome and base. A *patrakara caitya* seems to be Gutschow's *caitya* with *vimsatikona* support (pp. 264–266), in which the *caitya* top is supported by an upward facing lotus, and the whole is based on a triple-stepped socle, square with double cut away corners.

67 A square temple form with images on the four sides with pyramidal roof supporting the crowning *caitya*. N. Gutschow, *Nepalese Caitya*, calls this the *sikharakuta-caitya* (pp. 215–223). It is not clear where Hodgson means.

68 Such complex drawings have antecedents in Nepal. In its traditional painting, artists had made use of different perspectives. The drawing of divinities within schematic or conceptual shrines has a long tradition extending back to the earliest examples of Nepalese manuscript illustration in the eleventh century, while by the eighteenth century these shrines could assume complex architectural form in paintings, as for example the multi-tiered shrine depicted in a famous painting in Los Angeles which is basically a conceptual elevational view of a type of Hindu temple popular in the seventeenth century in the Valley, such as the Krishna temple in the Patan Durbar Square (see P. Pal, *Art of Nepal*, p. 223). Other artists used the overhead viewpoint to depict townscapes, such as those that dominate the settings of a late eighteenth-century *Bhagavata Purana* series (ibid., pp. 228–229).

69 Nep. 6, described in A. Foucher, 'Catalogue', pp. 18–19.

70 Head catalogue 022–049. Hodgson spent the cold weather of 1843–1844 in Calcutta, and sailed for England on 7 February 1844. He errs in his calculations of the building's chronology, and can be corrected by starting the Nepalese era in AD 879 (correctly) rather than 880, giving 1843 as the date of the drawing.

71 Head catalogue 022–033. This same clay *caitya* is found again in the drawings accompanying his Memorandum on Buddhist Architecture (see note 22).

72 For Chinnery's work and influence, see Patrick Connor, *George Chinnery, 1774–1852, Artist of India and the China Coast*, Woodbridge: Antique Collectors' Club, 1993.

73 Head points this out in 1991. For the D'Oylys and their work, see J.P. Losty, 'Sir Charles D'Oyly's Lithographic Press and his Indian Assistants', in *India: A Pageant of Prints*, P. Godrej and P. Rohatgi (eds), Bombay: Marg Publications, 1989, pp. 135–160, and also J.P. Losty 'A Career in Art: Sir Charles D'Oyly', in *Under the Indian Sun: British Landscape Artists*, P. Godrej and P. Rohatgi (eds), Bombay: Marg Publications, 1995, pp. 81–106.

74 See Hunter, *Life*, pp. 28–32.

75 Unnumbered, but entered in the library catalogue as: *Scrapbook of B.H. Hodgson Containing Photographs, Pencil & Colour Sketches of Indian Natives, Animals, &c.* It contains an oval pencil portrait by D'Oyly of William Hodgson, as well as an attempt at the same style by the latter.

76 C.W. Smith and C. D'Oyly, *Oriental Ornithology*, Patna, 1829, Plate 4: *View of a Nepalese Temple near Katmandoo taken by B.H. Hodgson Esq. C.W. Smith & C. D'Oyly delt. 29th June. Nipal Woodcock*. In the NHM Scrapbook there is also a watercolour signed by Eliza Jane D'Oyly of a Nepalese temple at Gokarna, which must be a copy of a William Hodgson drawing.
77 B.H. Hodgson, 'Sketch of Buddhism', pl. VI.
78 W.W. Hunter, *Life*, 1896, plate opposite p. 84.
79 B.H. Hodgson, 'Sketch of Buddhism', pl. VII.
80 Christie's *Visions of India*, London, 10 June 1997, lots 170–172. One of these collections, now in the BL, OIOC Add.Or.5338, has two drawings at ff. 29 and 30 which seem preliminary to the worked-up versions in the RAS (Head catalogue nos. 022–048 and 022–008). This collection also contains many iconographical drawings in various states of progress.
81 Head 022–041.
82 Head 022–024.
83 Head 022–021.
84 Head 022–030.
85 Head 022–042. A drawing in the Oldfield collection in the BL (WD2835, taken in 1853) also documents the original appearance of this wing of the palace, while WD3320, taken in 1858, illustrates the disastrous quasi-Palladian rebuilding.
86 Head 022–047. *Kathmandu Valley*, II, p. 224.
87 Now BL OIOC Add.Or.5229–5255. Rajman Singh's contribution is an unfinished panorama of the Kathmandu Valley in five sheets (Add.Or.5235–5239).
88 Head 022–051 to 022–062.
89 Letter from John Colvin (briefly Resident in Nepal 1845–1846) to Hodgson in Darjeeling 'We have arranged that the Kundar and Pundit shall go by the hill route and that Rajman will soon be forthcoming and made to go too'. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hodgson papers, vol. 9. I am indebted to David Waterhouse for the reference.
90 Hodgson's second collection of natural history drawings is a reworking of the earlier set, but without any artists' name indicated, and is now in the Library of The Natural History Museum, London. Other preliminary series of such natural history drawings, as for example those in Christie's 1997, lots 170–172 (lot 171 is now British Library OIOC Add.Or.5339), carry Nepali inscriptions on paper watermarked in the late 1840s and 1850.
91 BL OIOC Add.Or.3294–3307 is part of Oldfield's collection of Nepalese artists' work, and consist mostly of studies of the tribes and castes of Nepal. Some of his drawings were published in Henry Oldfield, *Sketches from Nepal*, London, 1880.
92 D. Wright, *History of Nepal Translated from the Parbatiya*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1877. It was Wright who was responsible for collecting the great series of Nepalese manuscripts now in Cambridge and catalogued in C. Bendall, *A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research*.
93 Bodleian Library, Oxford, Hodgson papers, vol. 10. This letter also indicates that Hodgson himself was the author of *Notes of the Services of B.H. Hodgson*, privately printed but not published. Hodgson persistently at this date confuses his two later sets of architectural drawings and where they were. There is nothing about the Memorandum and its accompanying drawings in the *Notes*.
94 This does not seem to be in Hodgson's writing.
95 At first sight it appears to be integrated into the numerical system of the drawings as no. 85 out of 89. In fact, however, Hodgson's text indicates that it was originally numbered 89, the last of the series, suggesting it was at a later date added to an existing document.
96 Most of the series IO San 3976 consists of lists of deities relevant to the mandalas, bearing the stamps of the Institut.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 5

Architectural illustrations of Buddhism

B.H. Hodgson's essay

During the time when I was engaged in discovering, in procuring and in testing the general character of the literary monuments of Buddhism in Nepal, I was likewise employed in accumulating architectural and sculptural illustrations of the same creed in that country, where such things so abound that it is popularly said of it 'there are more temples than houses, and more idols than human inhabitants'. I kept constantly at work for years two native artists, or Chitrakars as they call themselves, in copying whatever was forthcoming of architecture, of sculpture, or of picture[s] belonging to Buddhism, and as my artists were themselves of that creed, and were, moreover, superintended by a learned Pundit of the same faith, there was no danger of Brahmanical edifices or idols being taken for Saugata,[1] whilst there was a certainty that all the numerous significant details would be accurately copied, whatever defects in point of taste these drawings might exhibit.

The drawings before I left Nepal in 1843 had accumulated to hundreds of architectural, thousands of sculptural (and pictorial) subjects, and some progress had been made by my learned old friend Amirta Nanda Vajra acharya in the explanation of them according to the sacred books of his creed, when my sudden disconnexion with Nepal interrupted researches never since that period resumed by me.

From the architectural stores thus and then amassed I now make a selection for presentation to the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres of the Institute of France, accompanied by a few remarks, general and particular, upon the character of the sacred edifices of Buddhism in Nepal, which remarks, though incomplete, will I trust add some little additional meaning to the high significance of the drawings themselves.

The learned old man above referred to having been desired by me to consult his sastras upon this topic produced the following list of the names and classifications of sacred edifices, disposed under the three heads of Chaitya, Kutagar and Mandala.

Chaityas

1 Dhānyarasya Ch [Hodgson's figs. 12–16]
2 Chūramaniākār Ch
3 Layanākār Ch [Hodgson's figs. 17, 65]
4 Kalasākār Ch
5 Padmākār Ch [Hodgson's figs. 79–82]
6 Ghantākār Ch
7 Kutākār Ch [Hodgson's figs. 86, 87]
8 Kōshthākār Ch [Hodgson's figs. 83–84]
9 Dāstarāgār Ch
10 Ardchundrākār Ch
11 Chandramākār Ch
12 Nakhamaya Ch
13 Kesamaya Ch
14 Kāyamaya Ch
15 Dhātumaya Ch
16 Patramaya Ch
17 Chūramaya Ch
18 Patamaya Ch
19 Dharmadhātulayana Ch [Hodgson's fig. 59]
20 Āsanmaya Ch
21 Jaladhāropari Kūtagar Ch [Hodgson's figs. 7, 8, 10]
22 Lingākār [Hodgson's figs. 5, 6, 7, 8]

Kutākāras

1 Buddha K
2 Dharma K
3 Sanga K
4 Evamevadeva K
5 Jabhedena
6 Jarnambha K
7 Phayavasamsruten K
8 Dharmadhātu K
9 Vajradhatu K
10 Dipankara K
11 Maitreya K
12 Padmapani K
13 Sakyasinha K
14 Jatadhāri K

Mandalas

1 Dharmadhātu M
2 Vajradhātu M
3 Buddha M
4 Dharma M
5 Sanga M

6 Amōghapāsa M
7 Durgatiparisodana M
8 Manjughhosa M
9 Vasundhara M
10 Vageshwari M
11 Vajratāra M
12 Matakāma M
13 Graha M

Such is my old friend and preceptor's sastrika list. I had no time to sift it, nor to supervise the rambling mythological notes he made on the drawings and consequently could not obtain his explanation of the non-adherence to the sastrika terminology in explaining the drawings, whether by omission or addition.[2] The terms, however, above given have a deal of intrinsic significance which speaks for itself and if this list is taken in connexion with the yet higher significance of the drawings, a deal of sound information will be acquired.

I shall merely observe further on the list in this place the Nos. 1–11 and 18–22 of the head 'Chaitya' refer to the forms of the edifices; Nos. 12–17 to their enshrined relics; that the 'Kutākāra' names refer entirely to the sacred objects to which this form of temple (but one essentially) is devoted; and that the 'Mandalas' cannot be regarded as edifices at all, though they have more or less of structural appendage especially when they are not enshrined in a Kutākāra or in a Koshthākāra (i.e. chambered) Chaitya.

Chaitya means memorial simply, from chita, the mind. Sakya having commanded his disciples to erect such a structure in remembrance of him and of his law, the followers of that law in Nepal, when they perform their daily devotions by the river's side, make a tiny Chaitya out of the river sand and address themselves to it. They also frequently erect and dedicate a small Chaitya on the death of their parents or wife or spiritual adviser; and also when they make annual puja to the names of their ancestors, they construct a tiny model chaitya out of raw clay, knead up with the clay a small relic of the deceased kept for the purpose at the time of cremation, and then present such model to a temple or sacred cave. (Hodgson's drawing 89 [sc., in fact 85] was drawn from one of hundreds that had been so employed and which I brought away.)[3]

Chaitya, therefore, are sepulchral as well as memorial. The sepulchral are called Dehgopa or body-covering; and if the enshrined relic be that of some famous saint, especially of the founder of the creed, the shrine will be proportionally revered and popular. But it is by no means necessary that a Chaitya should be relic-consecrated; and in Nepal, a country which confessedly cannot boast of possessing any relic of Sakya or of his favourite disciples and friends, the establishers of his creed, none of the most renowned fanes of this type are so, but are dedicated to the Celestial Buddhas whose images are enshrined in niches at the bases of the hemisphere, while the memorial ones, every day made for puja, have no sort of connexion with the relics. All Chaityas are solid structures.

Kutākāra means peaklike, elevated, and refers to a chambered or hollow fane of great height in proportion to its breadth, and apparently always rising from a rectangular base with slightly bulging sides to a point but possibly not restricted to that exact form: at all events a Kutākāra chaitya is simply a Chaitya much elevated by additions from below, whether these additions be terraces or blind storeys, and square ones or polygonal.[4]

Mandala is a circular diagram, based on the idea of an expanded lotus, but with its divisions complicated by many accessories that will be best understood from the drawings. A Mandala crowns or rests upon a circular structure more or less high and adorned, the mandal itself being what is delineated on the slightly convex or flat summit of such structures, and its own compartments being filled with figures of the persons or symbols of the very ample pantheon of Buddhism. A Mandala may be exposed to the sky, as in the famous example that stands before the east face of the Chaitya of Swayambhunath (and where, by the by, it has a superimposed vajra or thunderbolt), or it may have a little special covering shrine as is seen in drawing 33; or lastly, it may occupy one of the storeys of a kutākār temple, as is the case with the Maha Vihar at Patan, where the Kutākār occupies the centre of an open quadrangle surrounded by the buildings constituting the Vihar or monastery.[5]

I proceed now to the drawings which consist of eighty-nine of the Chaitya class, of fifteen of the Mandala class, and of none from that of Kutākāra, because it seemed to be made apparent by a comparison of the great Kutākāra of the Maha Vihar of Patan with that of Buddhagaya in Bihar that the two essentially tally with each other, and both with the temple of Jagannath of Orissa and numerous other so called Vaishnava ones in every part of India. But observe, I do not mean by this exclusion of Kutākāras from Bauddha architecture properly so called, to imply that such structures are Brahmanical not Saugata in origin and of right; for, the contrary I think is the fact, and that for instance the Orissan Jagannath was as surely a Bauddha temple appropriated by the Brahmans as the Pagoda of Buddha Gaya. I only mean that having a great many delineations to produce, I have thought it better to exclude all such as are not exclusively Bauddha. I have to regret that I had no time before I left Nepal to attend to the measurements, materials and chronology of the temples delineated especially the chronology, for the materials I can speak to with accuracy sufficient for the purpose, whilst the drawings express enough or proportions in relation to edifices of so simple a model to satisfy most readers. A few words from memory must however be all that I shall trust myself to give on these points before proceeding to speak especially to the drawings. [There follows an account of the antiquity of Nepalese culture, some of it taken from the *Svayambhupurana*.]

From these few words on the probable age of any Saugata edifices whatever in Nepal, I pass on to the size and material of these that are actually forthcoming there. All the Kutākāras, and all the large Chaityas are made of brick. The smaller Chaityas are sometimes wholly constructed of, and the larger often, cased with stone; but the stone or brick casing is so overlaid with annually

renewed coats of lime, that its precise character can seldom be detected, and still less appreciated. The appendical or ornamental brickwork is often very fine with splendid mouldings. The stone work of the lesser Chaityas is also very well and carefully executed in the ornamental parts. These lesser Chaityas (for a reason above assigned) are multiplied to a vast extent both upon and around any large and famous fane, in relation to which, when attached, they bear every degree of subordination from mere ornament to more or less of co-ordinate importance with the principle structure.

If however a Chaitya, and especially a large one, stands on a plain, it is elevated upon a conspicuous gradated basement or series of diminishing terraces, more or less highly elaborated with ornament, and often greatly encroaching from its size upon the integral character and aspect of the edifice. But if the Chaitya stand upon a material eminence or hill, it is not usually so raised, except imitatively in small Chaityas such as the drawings exhibit many samples of and which are technically styled Asanmaya Chaityas. Most of the great Chaityas (and Kutākāras) of Nepal stand in the middle of an open area surrounded by buildings constituting a Vihar or monastery. But as these buildings are merely connected lines of houses in the usual Chinese or Tent style of all the civil and of half the religious edifices of Nepal, I shall say nothing more of the Viharas after this intimation of their forthcomingness, save to add that we may thus probably account for the absence of any protecting screen round the great Chaitya temples.

A monolithic pillar or pillars often stands at a few paces distant in front of the eastern face (always carefully determined in reference to the idol enshrined there) of the Chaitya; and at Khasachit, which is appropriated to the Tibetans solely, there are on the south side of the Chaitya some little obtuse trigonal pyramids (see drawing 1) such as I have observed no where else and which are recent and well known cenotaphs of certain deceased natives of Tibet who chanced to die there.

The largest sacred edifices in Nepal are the Chaityas of Khasachit above alluded to, and of Swoyambhunath.[6] Both are of the Churamani or spired order of Chaitya, but the spire of the former is tetragonally pyramidal; that of the latter, conical; of both, gradated and splendidly burnished, as are also the ornate frontispieces of the basal niches and their enshrined images.

Khasachit standing on a plain has a quadruple series of very large square terraces reangulated at the corners. Swoyambhunath which occupies the summit of a small detached hill has no such appendage. They are both very ancient structures particularly Swoyambhunath, of which the founder is alleged to be in the Purana of that name Manjughosha, the Nepalese patriarch after whom the Valley is denominated Manjugartha. Both are kept in high order by constant repairs, so often repeated that the names of the more recent repairers are alone preserved to the oblivion of the age and name of the founders beyond which is stated above.

These two are by much the largest of the Chaitya form of temple in the country and are not much short of 200 feet in height with well proportioned

breadth which may be easily estimated from the drawings, as well as the proportion of hemisphere to spire, and of both, in Khasachit to basement or terraces. No other Chaitya exceeds half of that size, and the very great majority are small, varying in height from 5 to 20 feet. (At Swoyambhunath, the severe yet graceful simplicity of outline of the Chaitya and the fine contrast between the glittering spire and the dark grove around, constitutes a very beauteous whole.)

All proper Chaityas are solid edifices whose primitive form is hemispherical, the hemisphere being more or less elevated or depressed out of the true mathematical figure, just as we see in any casual heap of grain. From such an object, the Chaitya derives its primitive form, as indicated by the descriptive epithet Dhanyarasya.

The Chaityas of Kathyaswayambhu, of Ipithudo and of Laganthudi (drawings 14, 15, 16),[7] which are certainly among the most ancient in Nepal, are of this form. But it will be seen by a reference to the drawings, that even in these primitive Chaityas, the hemisphere has a slight addition, which likewise occurs in the votive sample in clay (drawing 85). This addition is believed to be coeval with the earliest form of the Chaitya, especially in the simple square form of that addition; and we certainly find it in that form in the oldest Chaityas of India. Its purpose and meaning are forgotten in Nepal. But it is the evident prototype of the 'gala' portion of the spire of the more artificial subsequent structures; and it seems as if, in the Ipithudo Chaitya (drawing 16), either an ignorant repairer had confounded the base of the spire with the spire itself, or else that such confusion is not altogether inadmissible – a conjecture perhaps warranted by the varying form and great antiquity of the entire spire, including both spire proper or triyodasbhuvana, and base or gala.

These three Chaityas (14, 15, 16) have, moreover, a conspicuous niche with projecting frontispiece opposite to each cardinal point, and one of them has a continuous series of more superficial and smaller niches connecting the principal ones and running all around the immediate base of the hemisphere. The latter occurs frequently; the former always, in Nepalese Chaityas, some of which have besides a rather larger niche at all the mid intervals of the principal niches. All these are appropriated to the interning of images and symbols according to well known fixed rules (Note: See plates accompanying my paper in the Royal Asiatic Society's Transactions. Four of the 5 Dhyani Buddhas, each with appropriate attributes always occupy the chief niches.),[8] so that, if these minuter features of the architectural remains of the continent and islands of India, where they certainly occur, were more carefully examined (the sculpture being to the architecture what organic remains are to rocks) I have no doubt that decisive light would be thrown upon the identity of northern and southern Buddhism. Referring upon that point to my little work on Buddhism, I proceed to remark that the only other (beyond the gala aforesaid) additions to the Chaitya form of temple in Nepal (or elsewhere) appear to have consisted in the development of a conical or pyramidal spire, above the square basement or gala; whilst the only variations in form which the structure, thus completed,

seems to have received or indeed to admit of receiving without destroying its essential character, consisted in varied contractions of the base of the hemisphere till it assumed more or less of a bell shape (the ghantākār chaitya) or of a vase shape (the kalasākār chaitya); and in altering the proportions and ornaments of the terraced basement, of the hemisphere and of the spire, till it becomes not easy to recognize in such structures the fundamental idea of a mound or heap of grain, or else to discriminate the three essential parts of the fully developed chaitya, with its garbha or body, its gala or neck, and its churamani or spire. Observe however that this last remark is much more applicable to Indochina than to Indian or Himalayan Chaityas. Some of the modifications of the Chaitya form in Nepal are exquisitely beautiful, as for instance, nos. 81 and 82, wherein the graceful lotus (so incessantly occurring) forms so conspicuous and elegant a feature, whence the name Padmākāra applied to these forms.[9] Others, again, as Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, are highly interesting from the seeming demonstration they afford between Buddhism and the Phallic worship, a connection as to which I will only here say that to set out with the assertion that all such indications (and many more might be cited) are mere modern corruptions of Buddhism and peculiar to Nepal is surely a mistake.[10] The contrary I believe is indisputable and provable fact and the probable solution of that fact seems to be that the Buddhist and Brahmanical creeds at some period of their ascendancy borrowed largely and commonly from a set of rites and symbols not proper to either creed and probably derived from antecedent 'Turanian' superstitions too popular to be ignored or put down.[11]

The other modifications (so to speak) of the Chaitya model, as shown in the drawings, result from the blending of the solid structure with others of a wholly different and chambered kind; but these chambered additions, when consisting of several stories (drawing 86) still show a tendency to the original solid character of the style by having only their basal story hollow.

All such composite or Koshthākār Chaityas are small, and the form of their chambered accessories is usually square, but deviates occasionally into the hexagonal or octagonal (drawing 84) or even the polygonal form.

By far the greatest number of Nepalese Chaityas have the spire, and that spire, whether conical or pyramidal, is always gradated; the grades, whether open and wooden, or closed and of masonry, being always 10 or 13 (Note: see Appendix B of my published work),[12] and always surmounted by a palus, which, again, recalls the phallic emblem, the palus, moreover, being very generally, but not always, covered or shaded rather by an umbrella.[13] Now it is very important to remark that all the above particulars – that is, the 10 or 13 grades of spire, its phallus-like projection, and the 5 spokes of the umbrella, are mythologically significant, and all expressly refer to theistic Buddhism – the first being typical of the bhuvans or celestial mansions of the Dhyani Bodhisattvas; the second, of the bhuvan or heaven of Adi Buddha; and the third, of the heavens of the five Dhyani Buddhas. Consequently, where these five architectural features of the Chaitya occur (and they occur in the oldest

structures of India, as in Ceylon, Java and Indochina), we have at least prima facie evidence of the existence of that form of Buddhism which has and far too hastily been asserted to be peculiar to Nepal, though the contrary is I think patent upon the face of many of the architectural and sculptural remains (the two entirely harmonising and the latter giving point to the evidence of the former) of those countries, as stated thirty years ago and has since been fully confirmed by all accurate observers such as Cunningham of Bengal, Wilson of Bombay and Chapman of Madras (see subjoined note at the end of this paper). In short, whoever would summarily satisfy himself (not having the power to consult the sacred books of the sect) of the essential oneness of Buddhism, wherever it has been or is professed, has only to look carefully to the details of the sculptural and architectural remains. Every detail is significant and there is a wonderful congruity both of the outward visible signs and of their invisible sense. For instance, let him compare the simple Chaityas above described and delineated in drawings 15, 16, 17, 84 of the accompanying drawings, with those of the Manikyala, Sanchi, Bameran, Carli, Ajanta, and Thuparamya 'topes,' and let him again compare our gradate spired Chaityas with the same class of temples at Sultanpur, Ajanta, Jayatawanarama, and Borobodor, all as they appear in the popular work of Fergusson, and he will be satisfied of the truth of what I have said. (Note: Mr Fergusson is strangely inaccurate in his classification of Saugata edifices, as if the very meaning of the word 'tope' did not prove it to be synonymous with Chaitya and with nothing but Chaitya. He is also strangely perverse in his criticism of Cunningham, as if no evidence, literary or monumental, existed of theistic Buddhism, and as if no one had pointed out the literary, architectural and sculptural evidence of its forthcomingness in continental and insulated India and Java. Those who know what has been written on the general subject, when and by whom, will readily understand Mr F's insidious disparagement of the light thrown 30 years back upon the architecture as well as tenets of Nepal Buddhism.)[14]

Referring now in conclusion of the subject of Chaityas to the model of a spired Chaitya (drawing 88) prepared for me by Amrita Nanda and to the accompanying explanation of its several parts by him, I may add here that all below IV is the Koshthaka or chambered addition to the proper Chaitya (which addition is there denominated Dharmadhatumandalākāra because a mandal of that sort is enshrined in this extrinsic and hollow part of the edifice) and that the proper Chaitya extends from IV to XIV, divided into first the bedika or basement (IV–VI); second the garbha or body (VIII) that is the hemisphere; third the gala or neck (IX) that is the square base of the spire, with its divyachakshu and its toran or pediment (X) which last if often highly adorned with figures or flowers; and fourth and last, the gradated spire or triyodasbhuvana whose summit is the palus or churamani (XII) with its covers the chattra (XIII) finishing in a kalasa or vase like ornament (XIV). The other figures refer to the minuter particulars. The upper niche (XVI) is one of four placed opposite to the cardinal points and appropriated to the celestial

Buddhas; the lower niche (XV) also is one of a series, as numerous as the sides of this accessory part of the Chaitya and which sides are 4, 6, 8, or even more, but all appropriated to the second order of intelligences of the Bodhisatwas and Bhikshukas.

[The above is amplified by the list actually on the drawing:
Explanation of the model:
I. The Padmavali
II. The Panchbedika
III. The Dwarabeli (place of esoteric deities)
IV. The upper or double Padmavali
V. The Padmākārsravali
VI. The Tribedika
VII. The Barturākārsunyabali
VIII. The Garbha or chief part of the chaitya
IX. The Gala of the Chaitya
X. The Toran
XI. The Triyodasbhuvan
XII. The Churamani
XIII. The Chattra
XIV. The Kalas
XV. Niche for the Bodhisatwas
XVI. Niche for the Buddhas
XVII. The Divyachakshu of the gala]

On the head of Kutākāras I have nothing to add to what has been already said, save the following particulars relating to the appropriation of the chambers in the Kutākār of the great monastery at Patan. There, Sakya occupies the basal floor, Amitabha the second storey, a small stone chaitya the third, the Dharmadhatu mandal the fourth, and the Vajradhatu mandal the fifth and highest, the apex of the building consisting of a small churamani or jewel head Chaitya (Note: The term Churamani refers to a popular legend. The jewel is in the head of the palus and as that palus runs through and sustains the whole spire, when wood is employed in this part of the edifice, churamani is often used as equivalent to the whole spire, though in strictness it belongs only to the terminal projection, and even solely to the summit of that palus or projection.)[15]

The last head into which I have following my learned old friend and preceptor Amirta Nanda decided the architectural monuments of Buddhism is the Mandalas. And here also I know not that I can add anything of importance to what has gone before. The numerous samples of Mandalas herewith transmitted must be examined in their details with close reference to the corresponding lists of Deities annexed to them, in order to appreciate their character.

Architecturally speaking they are almost nil, though of high interest and importance for the light they cast on the creed they belong to, and exclusively

belong to – a creed which, as it has come down to us in its literary, architectural, sculptural and pictorial remains, I believe is essentially the same every where, and is very far indeed from answering to that simple and philosophical model (whether in its speculative or practical phase) which eminent writers from Erskine to Burnouf [see Hodgson's note in the next paragraph] have attempted to set up for it, by the short but unwarranted process of ignoring as Brahmanical admixture and corruption everything which could not be made to answer to such a preconceived model.

(Note: My illustrious and deeply lamented friend Burnouf contends that Buddhism is to be judged solely by the aphorisms of its founder. I think this is a mistake, because the world in general is interested chiefly as to the public institute and creed of millions, not as to the closet speculation wherein that institute and creed no doubt had their primal origin, but an origin so dark and vague (owing to the enigmatical curtness of Sakya's aphorisms) that if we may not seek its elucidation in the earliest and most accredited literary and other monuments of this creed, we shall be at liberty to call pure Buddhism anything almost that we fancy. Long ago I suggested the expounding of one of Sakya's most fundamental sutras (ye dharma nitya) as a test of this notion; and certainly the works left behind them by Sakya's earliest and ablest followers (he left none himself) no more accord with the idea that speculative Buddhism was simple than do the earliest architectural and sculptural monuments with the idea that practical Buddhism was so. We should have but a very faint and false idea of the religion of the Sikhs were we to judge it by the maxims of the first Guru, much clearer and self recorded as those maxims are compared with the Sutras of Sakya. With reference to the foregoing allusions to the opinions of Cunningham, Wilson and Chapman . . . [opinions from those writers on how Hodgson's writings illuminate the monuments of India and Ceylon].)[16]

B.H. Hodgson, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour
Darjiling, Sept. 1857

Notes

1 I.e. Hindu edifices being mistaken for Buddhist ones.

2 Many of the terms differ from those obtained by Niels Gutschow (*The Nepalese Caitya: 1500 Years of Buddhist Votive Architecture in the Kathmandu Valley*, Stuttgart/London: Edition Axel Menges, 1997) from the *Dharmasangraha*, the work written by Amritananda for Hodgson in explanation of the Buddhism of Nepal.

3 The substance of this paragraph is written at the bottom of the drawing in question in explanation of the little drawing of the *caitya* (fig. A.11).

4 See Gutschow, 1997, p. 215. He calls this type of *caitya* a *sikharakutakaracaitya*, a 'term invented by Amritananda in the middle of the 19th century in collaboration with . . . Hodgson'.

5 Hodgson is referring here to the Mahabauddha temple in Patan, whose structure is based on that of the Mahabodhi temple at Bodh Gaya, Bihar. He is perhaps deceived into thinking of it as the Mahavihara (or The Great Monastery: in fact there are at least fifteen *bahas* called this in Patan) by its resemblance to the Indian temple. In fact, it stands in a courtyard surrounded by ordinary dwellings (now

much disfigured), not in a *vihara* at all, and is the shrine of the Mahabuddha branch of the Uku Baha, whose *baha* is indeed a *mahavihara*. See John K. Locke, *Buddhist Monasteries of Nepal: a Survey of the Bahas and Bahis of the Kathmandu Valley*, Kathmandu: Nepal Sahayogi Press, 1985, pp. 90–101.

6 Hodgson's drawings 1 and 12.

7 The former in Kathmandu (fifteenth century?), the latter two of the ancient stupas outside Patan. The *mahacaitya* of Kathesibhu, which now looks like a smaller version of the Svayambhunath complex, was a ruin in the early nineteenth century and may have deceived Hodgson as to its age. It was drawn in its ruinous state by Oldfield in 1852 (BL OIOC WD2832) and published in H.A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, London: W.H. Allen, 1880, p. 63.

8 Fig. A.3 of this paper is of the 'Chaitya of Deva Patana', which displays the arrangement of niches as just described.

9 Gutschow's *padmavali caityas*.

10 See B.H. Hodgson, *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*, Serampore: 1841, pp. 203–211. Hodgson's *lingakara caitya* emphasizes his belief in the connections between Saivism and Buddhism; the more neutral term coined by Gutschow *caturvyuhacaitya* is that used by contemporary Nepalese scholars. These are tall vertical *caitya* surrounded by four Buddha images seated or standing. Some of Hodgson's examples are *jaladharopari caitya*, i.e. with a water basin in between socle or base and the *caitya* proper, what Gutschow (1997, pp. 284–293) calls *jalaharyuparisumerucaitya*.

11 For the nineteenth-century belief in so-called Turanians, see van Driem (Chapter 11).

12 See B.H. Hodgson, 'Quotations from Original Sanscrit Authorities in Proof and Illustration of Mr Hodgson's Sketch of Buddhism', in *JASB*, vol. 5, 1836, 'Appendix B, Classified Enumeration of the Principal Objects of Bauddha Worship', pp. 94–96.

13 What Hodgson calls the 'palus' (derivation?) is the uppermost and only visible portion of the central shaft (Newari *yahsi*) which runs down through the various elements of the spire and rests inside the *garbha* or dome – see Gutschow, 1997, p. 87.

14 The whole note is crossed out, no doubt by Fergusson when he read these papers.

15 The structure which Hodgson is describing is the Mahabauddha temple in Patan, which has five separate storeys containing these enshrined images/objects – a *svayambhudharmadhatucaitya* is on Hodgson's third level, with another one enshrined inaccessibly right at the top at the sixth level. See Gutschow, 1997, pp. 308–314.

16 The Memorandum is reproduced here as it is written, save only for the clarification of the numbering of the drawings and the omission of some non-architectural paragraphs.

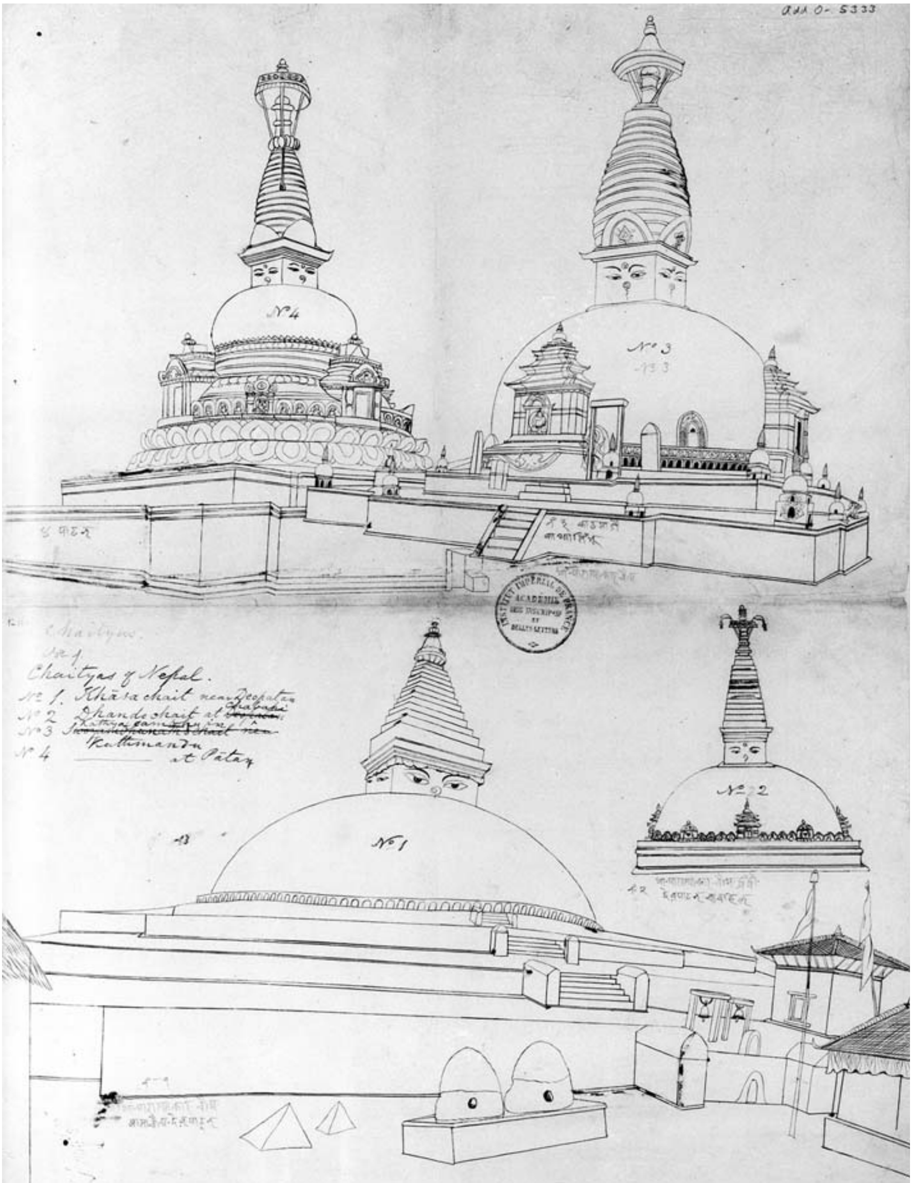


Figure A.1 Hodgson's figures 1–4 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.1r.).



Figure A.2 Hodgson's figures 5–11 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.1v.).

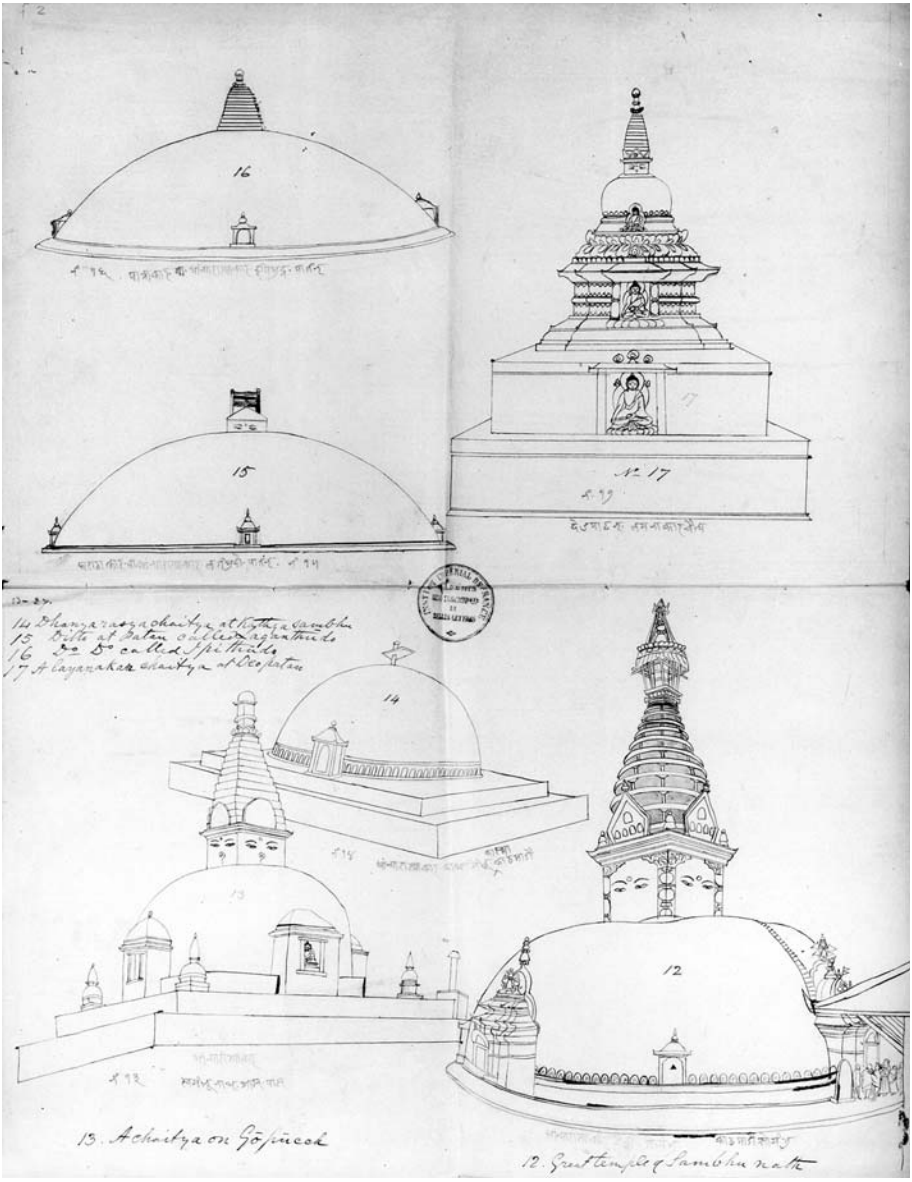


Figure A.3 Hodgson's figures 12–17 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.2r.).

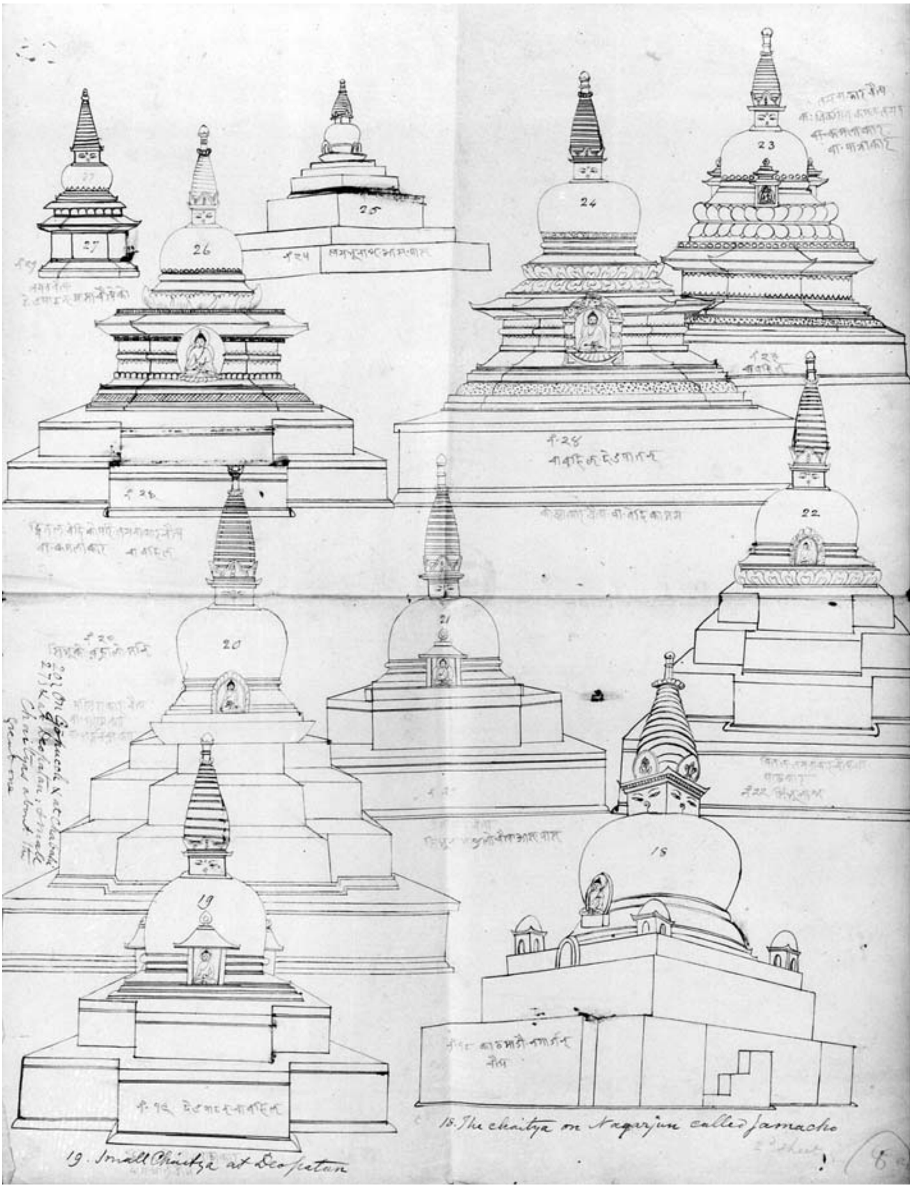


Figure A.4 Hodgson's figures 18–27 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.2v.).

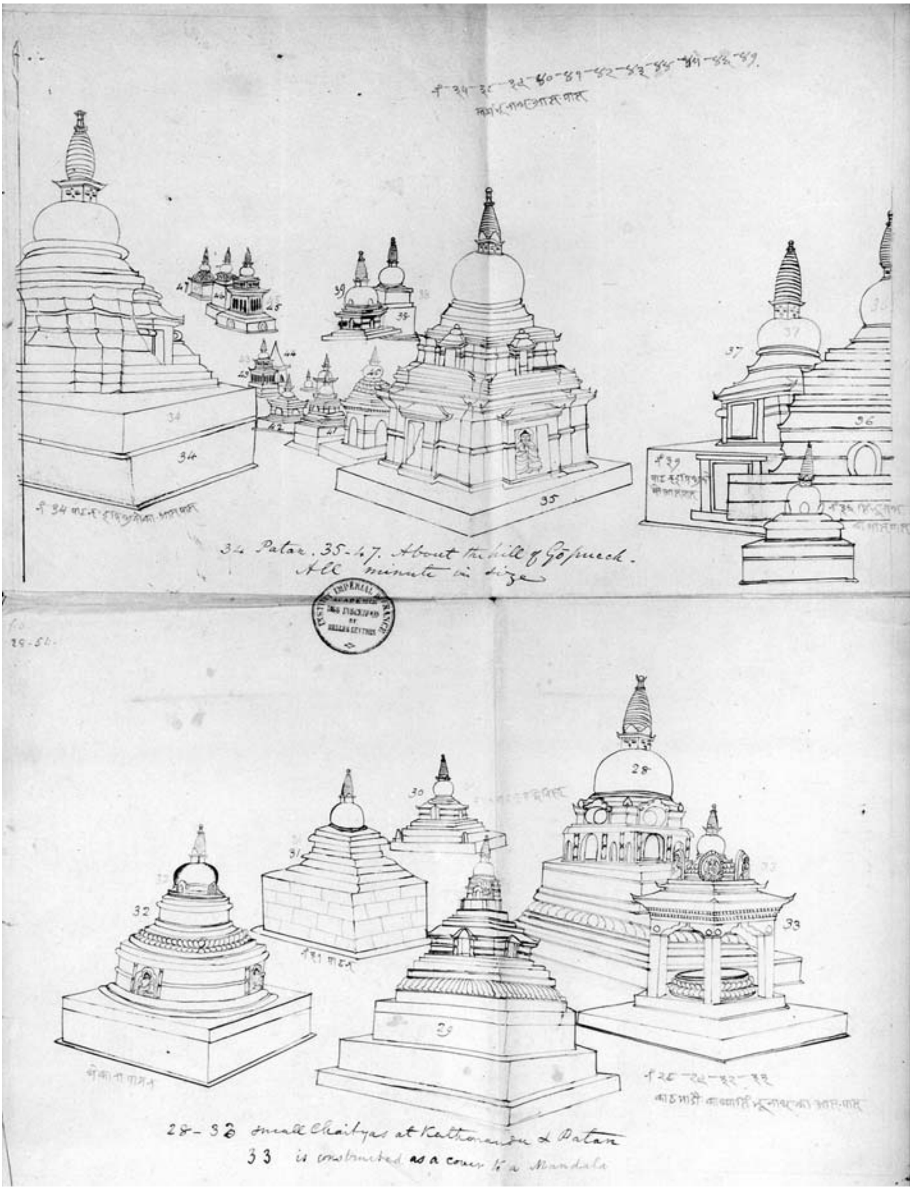


Figure A.5 Hodgson's figures 28–47 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.3r.).

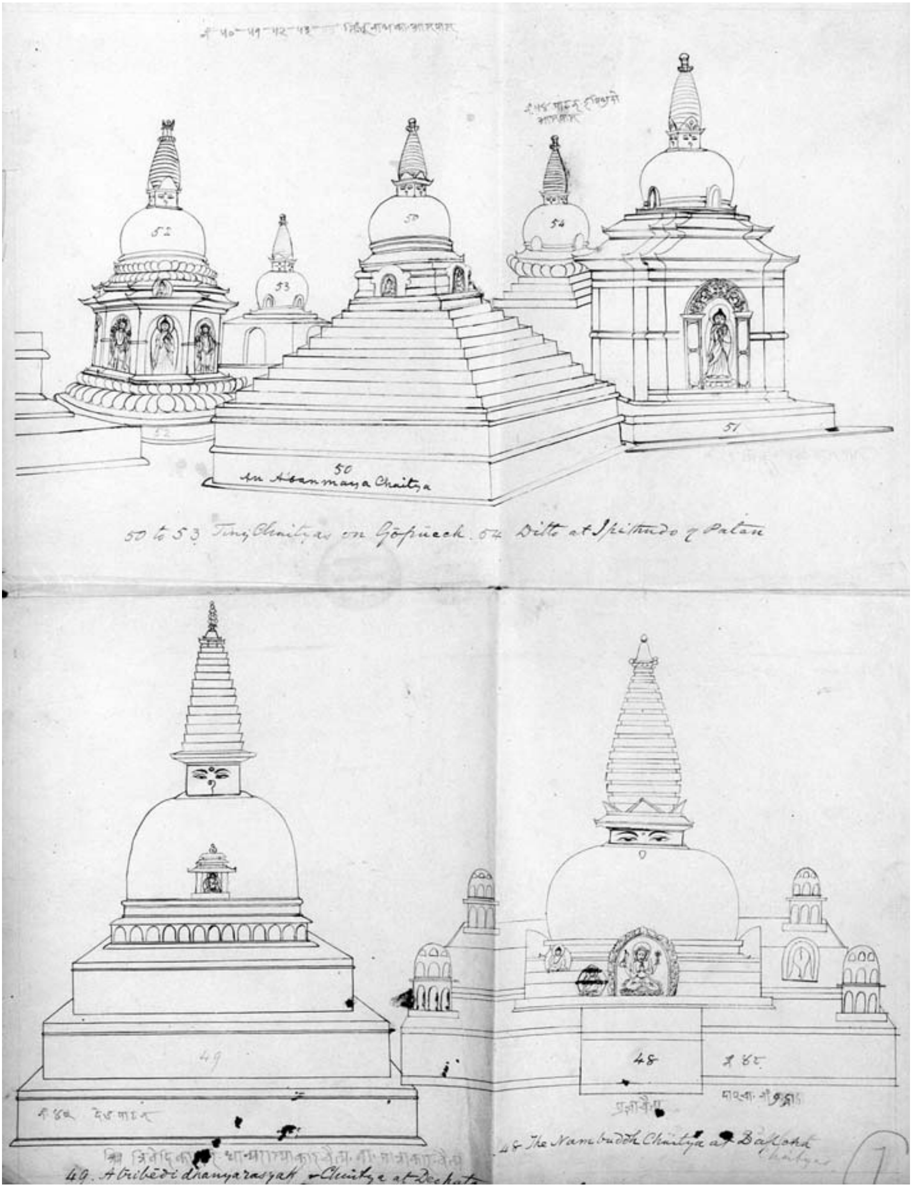


Figure A.6 Hodgson's figures 48–54 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.3v.).



Figure A.7 Hodgson's figures 55–58 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.4r.).

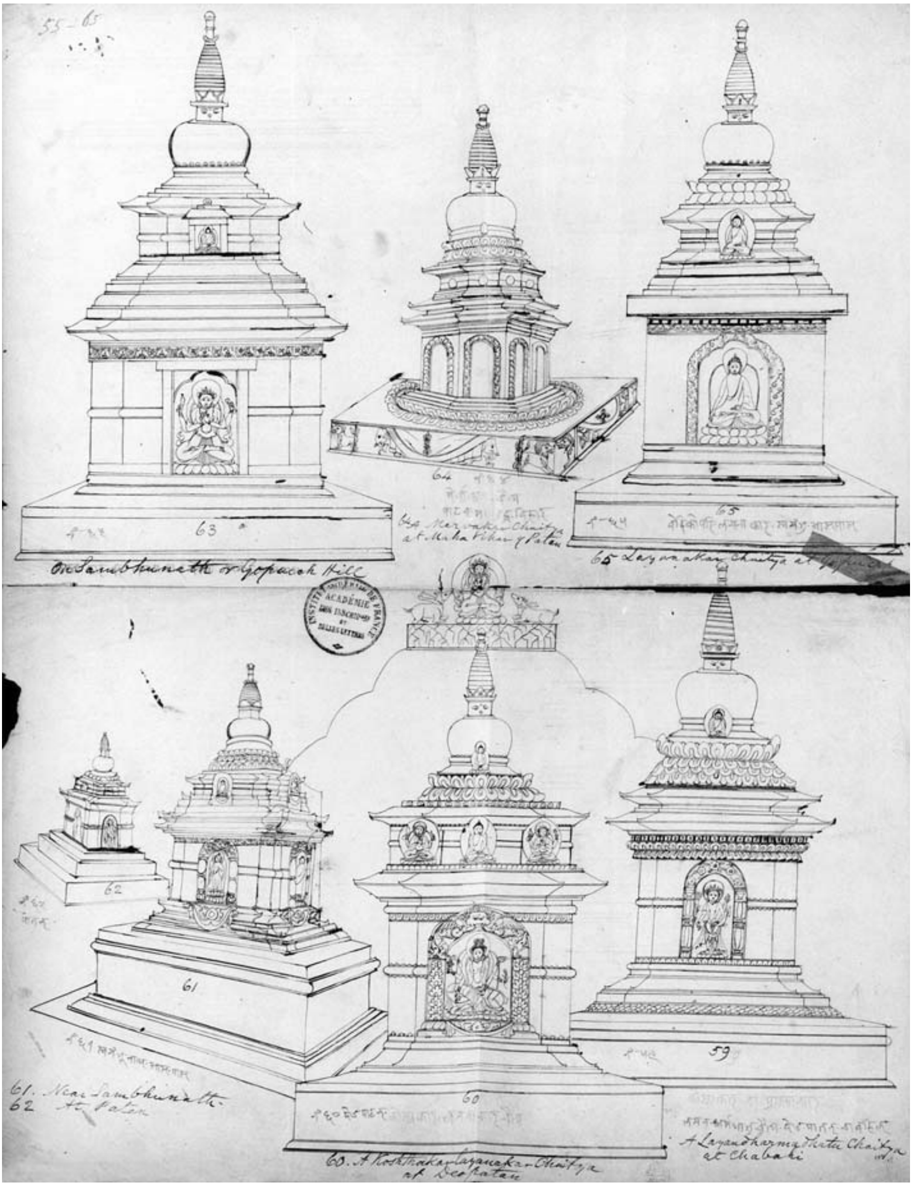


Figure A.8 Hodgson's figures 59–65 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.4v.).



Figure A.9 Hodgson's figures 66–77 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.5r.0).



Figure A.10 Hodgson's figures 78–82 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.5v.).

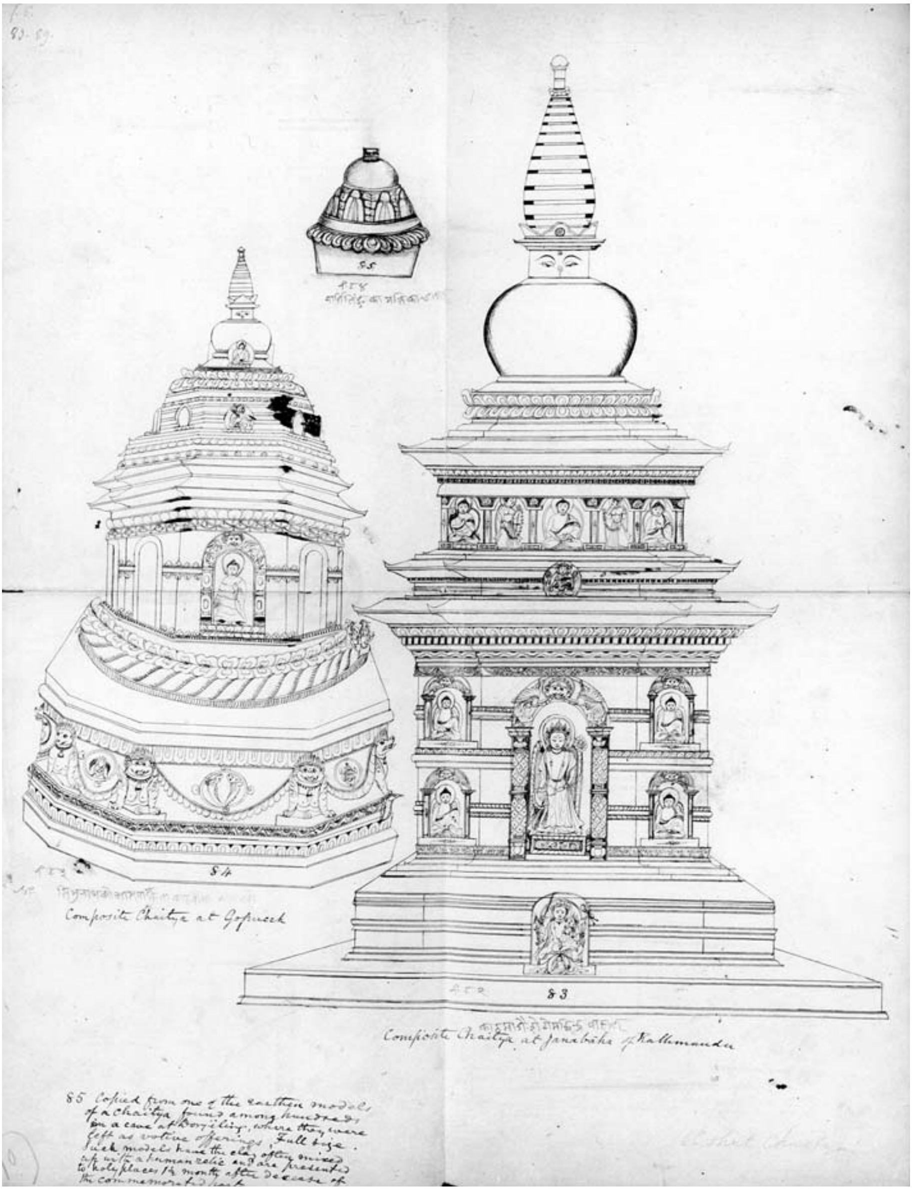


Figure A.11 Hodgson's figures 83–85 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.6r.).

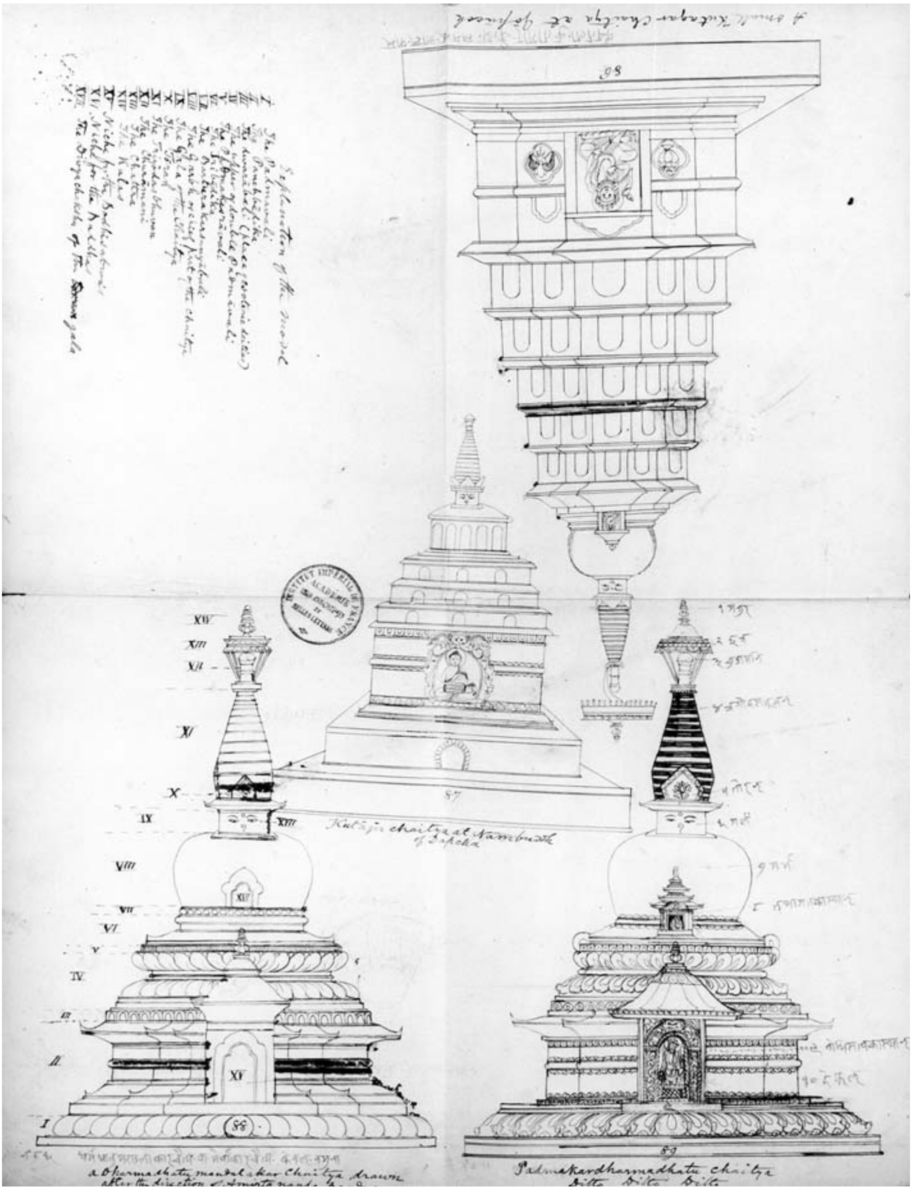


Figure A.12 Hodgson's figures 86–89 (British Library, IO San 3976f, f.6v.).

6

ZOOLOGY . . . AMUSES ME MUCH

Ann Datta and Carol Inskipp

> Zoology in the branches of birds and quadrupeds amuses me much.[1]
>
> Hodgson in a letter to his sister Fanny (1833)

Background

When Hodgson arrived in Nepal in 1820 little was known of the country's fauna. Its abundant and colourful wildlife, still obvious today, attracted his attention and inspired him to discover and systematize the species he found. He wrote to James Prinsep, Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, sixteen years after first arriving in Nepal 'I have made and am making daily, the most curious discoveries'.[2] The reasons for this enthusiasm are clear, but worth stating. Nepal lies almost entirely within the central part of the Himalayas, with just a narrow lowland strip to the south of the range. Nepal's high species diversity makes the country one of the most interesting in the world for the naturalist. This richness is partly due to the very wide range in altitude in the country from the terai up to the high peaks of the Himalayas. For Hodgson this was an opportunity of which he took full advantage.

Only three Europeans had made observations on Nepalese fauna before Hodgson and these were minor compared to his work. Col. W.J. Kirkpatrick, in his account of his visit to Nepal in 1793, recorded a few mammals notably the Himalayan Musk Deer, *Moschus chrysogaster*, as well as a small number of gamebirds including the country's national bird, the Himalayan Monal *Lophophorus impeyjanus*.[3] Kirkpatrick was followed by Francis Buchanan Hamilton who visited Nepal in 1802 and 1803 and made some general observations on a few mammals, birds and fish.[4] The third observer was Major General Hardwicke who described two pheasants: the Blood Pheasant, *Ithaginis cruentus*[5] and Cheer Pheasant, *Catreus wallichii*,[6] as well as giving an account of the Red Panda, *Ailurus fulgens*.[7]

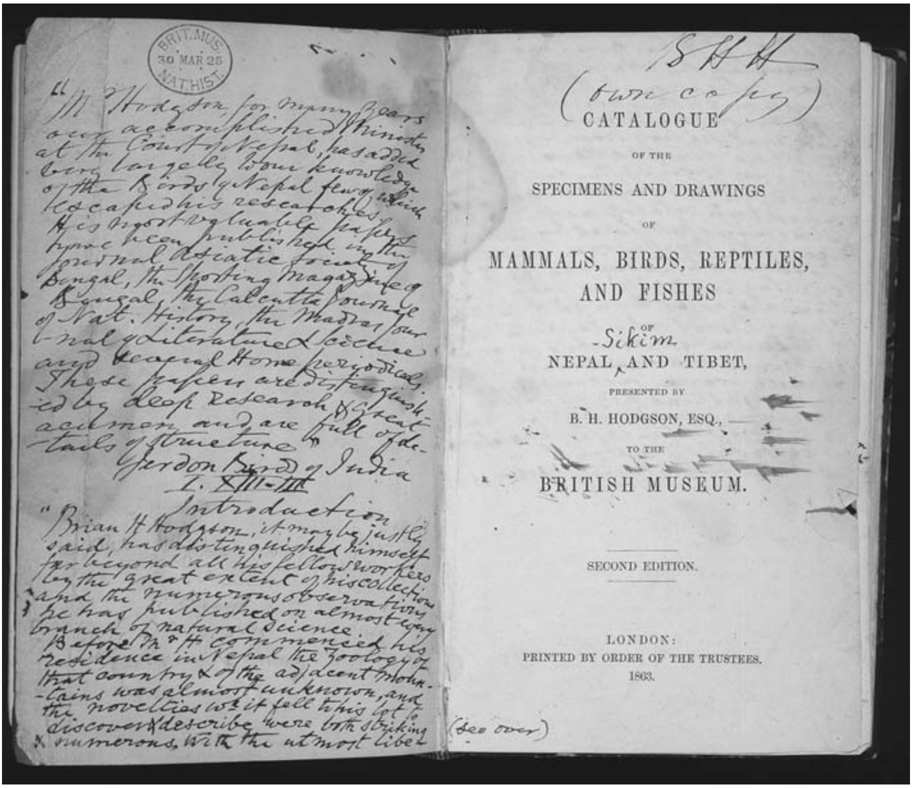


Figure 6.1 Title page of Hodgson's copy of the British Museum catalogue, with his own annotations opposite, NHM.

Hodgson as a zoologist

There is little information about how Hodgson went about his zoological work. His opportunities for observing animals in the wild were very restricted as his travels in Nepal were almost entirely limited to the Kathmandu Valley and the trail from Kathmandu south to the Indian border at Segouli. He visited regularly Koulia, now called Rani Pauwa or Kakani, where a bungalow was built for him on the edge of the Valley about 22km from the capital. Frequent reference is made in his unpublished notes to the birds and nests he found on Jahar Powah, a hill on which the bungalow probably stood.[8] Hodgson was also allowed to travel to Nayakot, some 30km from Kathmandu, to visit one of the homes of the Nepalese maharaja when he accompanied the royal family there.[9] It was most unfortunate that Hodgson was unable to experience the high Himalayan region above 3050m, which he calls the kachar or snows, as the peaks of the mountains encircling the Kathmandu Valley are considerably

lower. During his later years living in Darjeeling he made winter trips to the terai, but he was far less prolific in his zoological writings during this period.

Hodgson's zoological work consists of a huge and comprehensive collection of vertebrate specimens and published papers together with extensive unpublished notes and a magnificent collection of watercolour paintings. His specimen collections of birds and mammals are undoubtedly one of his major achievements. Soon after his arrival in Nepal he set about collecting as many specimens of the country's birds and mammals as he could. Owing to restrictions on his movements, most of the specimens were collected by a team of trappers. Nothing is known about these men except for one, Chebu Lama, who provided him with some Tibetan mammals from Lhasa.[10] His Himalayan bird collections were prepared in a most unusual manner, with their wings outstretched and not folded, which is the normal method of preparation. The former method has an enormous advantage in that the colour, shape and size of the wing are clearly revealed. The disadvantage is one of convenience, however; transporting specimens from the field and later transport to England would have been very difficult without damaging the specimens.[11]

Hodgson was a highly prolific writer of zoological papers, producing the large number of 146 papers on zoology. Although his contribution to ornithological science was greater he wrote significantly more mammal papers (82) than papers on birds (64). These were all published between 1826 and 1858: his bird papers were almost all written between 1829 and 1847. During his most prolific period (1835–1837) he produced papers at an extraordinary rate – a little over one a month. Many of these were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. The Society's Secretary wrote to Hodgson:

> I trust you will speedily send me more zoological papers as well as duplicates of those the printer has mislaid, for Professor Royle writes to me from London that your papers are held to constitute the principal value of my journal among the folks at home.[12]

Most of Hodgson's remaining papers were published in the *Proceedings of the Zoological Society of London*, *Asiatic Researches*, *Annals and Magazine of Natural History* and the *Calcutta Journal of Natural History*. It was obviously sensible for him to publish in India but this made it difficult for zoologists in Britain to appreciate the significance of his work. The majority of papers describe the appearance and behaviour of his newly discovered species and some include beautiful and life-like illustrations of birds and mammals from his paintings. He also wrote on scientific nomenclature and terminology and faunal distribution according to altitude. He was the first person to describe the geographical distribution of the mammals and birds of the Himalayas; this, in 1855, was one of his last papers.[13] After 1851 he wrote few papers on zoology and sadly, after his return to England in 1858, he wrote no more. There are substantial collections of Hodgson's manuscripts on birds and mammals in the libraries of The Natural History Museum, London and the Zoological Society of London.

Hodgson was not an artist, his paintings and pencil sketches were executed by skilled Nepalis under his guidance.[14] Unfortunately little is known about these accomplished artists. Several styles have been detected but no further analysis has yet been carried out. Rajman Singh is the best known and signed several of the paintings. He worked for Hodgson in Nepal and later joined him in Darjeeling. The only other named artist was Tursmoney Chitterkar – there is a single signed watercolour by him in The Natural History Museum (Plate 11).[15] Hodgson gives only a few clues about his artists. In 1833 he wrote to his sister, Fanny, 'I have three native artists always employed in drawing from nature'.[16] Two years later he wrote to Sir Alexander Johnstone, Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society:

> The existing results of my research consist of a series of drawings (the birds all of natural size) executed by two native artists, carefully trained to the strict observance and delineation of the significant parts . . . my drawings amount to several hundreds; and almost every subject has been again and again corrected, from fresh specimens, with a view to the mature aspect of the species, in respect to colour and figure. Sexual differences, as well as those caused by nonage, have been fixed and portrayed when it seemed advisable; and various characteristic parts, external and internal, have been separately delineated. In regard to the latter, whether given separately, or combined with the general form, the use of the camera has been resorted to, to insure rigid accuracy; and, when it has not been employed, the draughtsmen have been perpetually recalled to the careful exhibition of characters by my supervision. Whilst abundance of fresh specimens have been thus employed by my painters, I have myself continued to draw from the same source notes of the structure of stomachs and intestines; of habits in regard to food, as indicated by the contents of stomachs; and of other habits, of manners, location, and economy, derived either from observation or report.[17]

He was assisted in studying and describing the anatomy of his specimens by Dr Campbell, who was the Residency surgeon in Nepal and who later became Superintendent in Darjeeling. Campbell was himself a keen natural historian and contributed to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

It is likely that John Gould's paintings in *A Century of Birds Hitherto Unfigured from the Himalaya Mountains*, which commenced in 1830, were the inspiration for the paintings in Hodgson's collection. This was illustrated with eighty coloured plates which, when compared with some of Hodgson's earlier paintings, show a similarity in style. For instance some of Gould's birds are painted in unnatural postures and this is reflected in some of the work commissioned by Hodgson. However, his artists' later work developed into a natural style culminating in some superb paintings being produced in the later years at Darjeeling, for example the Tibetan Partridge *Perdix hodgsoniae*, (Plate 18). Hodgson was fully aware of the excellence of his artists' work and

pointed this out in his letters and public announcements about his proposed book on the zoology of Nepal. For example he wrote to James Prinsep:

> Have you got the latest batch of drawings – twenty two sheets? And are they not wondrous work for a Nipalese? I have some more now executing which I dare any artist in Europe to excel and they are rigidly correct in their minutest detail.[18]

The later paintings of Hodgson's artists were certainly more scientifically accurate as well as more lifelike than any published previously. An example of this is in the reproduction of the colours of the birds' soft parts – bill, legs, feet and eyes. Hodgson and his artists with the advantage of illustrations from fresh specimens or live birds were able to capture the true colours of the species. In contrast artists in England illustrating Asian birds were obliged to execute paintings from dry skins whose soft part colour had often faded.

The backs of the paintings held in the Zoological Society of London library are covered with full descriptions of plumage, furs, colours of bills, legs, feet and irides, and detailed measurements. Hodgson also wrote extensively on behaviour, including breeding behaviour, nests and eggs, altitudes and localities. Hume described the notes as: 'constituting as a whole materials for a life-history of many hundred species such as I believe no one ornithologist had ever previously garnered'.[19] Unfortunately, Hodgson invariably did not include the year of collection or observation and this reduces the value of his notes. Other workers have added additional names that confuse matters and compromise their usefulness.

Only a few of Hodgson's zoological paintings were published in his scientific papers. The limiting factors were the printing costs and the availability of skilled engravers and lithographers. His first illustrations, published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1832, were simple, black and white lithographs copied from the work of unnamed artists. Much more impressive were the plates published in *Asiatic Researches* like that of the Steppe Eagle, *Aquila nipalensis*, a fine hand-coloured 1833 lithograph after a drawing by an unnamed artist[20] (see Plate 17 which is of the original, now renamed, in the NHM collection) and the striking figures of the Nepalese wild goat and wild sheep by Rajman Singh[21] (Figures 6.2 and 6.3) whose later work can also be seen in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.[22]

Alan Octavian Hume, a leading expert in Indian birds, requested Hodgson's assistance in 1870. In reply Hodgson readily agreed to lend all his paintings, which had not already been donated, to Hume in Agra. Hodgson's generosity was acknowledged by Hume who dedicated his classic book *The Nests and Eggs of Indian Birds* to Hodgson, 'for the invaluable services which he rendered to Indian Ornithology'. Hume also reproduced a good deal of material from Hodgson's notes in his *Game Birds of India*.[23] The high quality of the paintings was fully acknowledged by Hume in Hunter's biography of Hodgson. In his detailed account of the paintings Hume wrote:

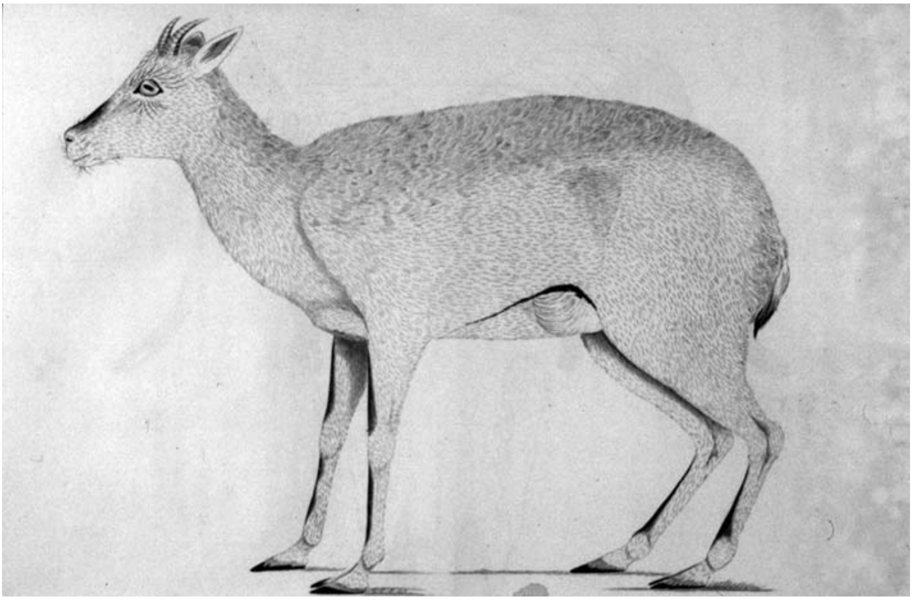


Figure 6.2 The Nyaur, or Wild Sheep of Nepal. Engraving of drawing by Rajman Singh from *Asiat. Res.* vol. 18, 1833, photo from RAS.

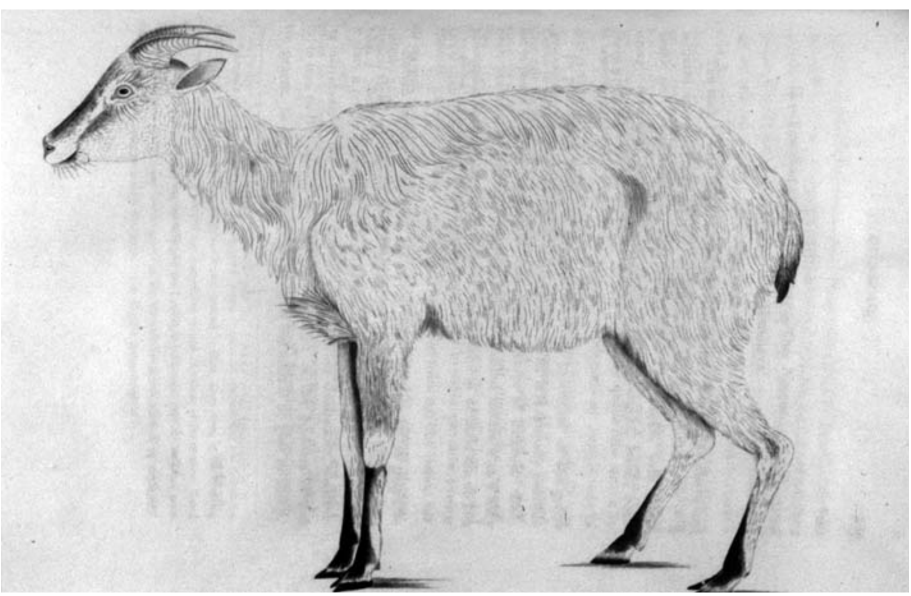


Figure 6.3 The Jharal, or Wild Goat of Nepal. Engraving of drawing by Rajman Singh from *Asiat. Res.* vol. 18, 1833, photo from RAS.

> He trained Indian artists to paint birds with extreme accuracy from a scientific point of view, and under his careful supervision admirable large-scale pictures were produced . . . These were continually accompanied by exact, life-size, pencil drawings of the bills, nasal orifices, legs, feet, and claws (the scutellation of the tarsi and toes being reproduced with photographic accuracy and minuteness) and of the arrangement of the feathers in crests, wings and tails.[24]

However as the paintings were never published, in later years their existence was overlooked and this great achievement of Hodgson's was largely unrecognized.

Hodgson collaborated with some eminent men in the field of zoology and was characteristically generous in making available his unpublished notes. Charles Darwin made use of Hodgson's notes on the Tibetan mastiff, and Himalayan cattle, sheep and goats for his work *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*.[25] Another contact was the botanist Joseph Hooker who stayed with Hodgson in his Darjeeling home and afterwards became a friend for the rest of his life – see David Arnold (Chapter 9).

Hodgson and the museum world

The museum world in the early nineteenth century was in a state of rapid change. The British Museum, the national repository, suffered in the early years of the century from poor curatorial practices resulting in the loss of specimens. Other museums were established which threatened its supremacy. The most notable of these was the Zoological Society of London's museum, founded in 1826. This museum sought and encouraged donations, targeting colonial officials with a circular asking them to send back 'preserved insects, reptiles, birds, mammalia, fish, eggs and shells'.[26] Those who responded positively were made Corresponding Members of the Zoological Society – a distinction that Hodgson achieved in 1832.

It is not surprising then that Hodgson's first presentations, from 1834 to 1836, were to the Zoological Society Museum – all from Nepal[27] – and it is probable that he intended to deposit the bulk of his collections with them. However he wished to impose conditions to the donation that made it impossible for the Society to accept.[28]

Meanwhile the situation at the British Museum was changing. Naturalists, frustrated by the poor quality of the work, complained and the government in 1836 ordered a public enquiry into the state of the museum. The situation altered radically when John Edward Gray was appointed Keeper of Zoology in 1840. He embarked on a massive collection-building programme that, by the time of his death thirty-five years later, had made the museum's zoological collection world famous. It was probably the evolving situation at the museum that led Hodgson to approach his cousin Edward Hawkins, Keeper of Antiquities at the British Museum, in 1843 and offer his zoological collections and his paintings of Nepalese birds and mammals to the museum.[29]

During the craze for natural-history collecting in the nineteenth century huge collections were amassed, privately and publicly, both in Europe and overseas. Faced with all these competing interests, Gray's task to improve the zoological collections in the British Museum was formidable. When Hodgson offered to donate his Nepalese mammals and birds, this must have been welcome news. There were few if any specimens from Nepal in his collections and many of Hodgson's specimens were the ones on which he had based his descriptions of new species. These are known as type specimens and they are the most valuable scientifically because any subsequent investigations into those animals must always make reference back to the types. Gray therefore accepted gladly, along with the conditions, Hodgson's donation consisting of 2,596 birds from Nepal and Tibet,[30] around 500 specimens of skins, skulls, horns, bones and pickled animals,[31] and 670 exquisite zoological drawings of birds and mammals.[32]

In return Hodgson asked the Museum to prepare and publish a catalogue of his collection.[33] The job was delegated to J.E. Gray. In practice, the work was shared and Gray's younger brother, George Robert Gray, who was employed as curator of the museum's bird collections, listed the birds which formed the larger part of Hodgson's donation. In 1846 the *Catalogue of the Specimens and Drawings of Mammalia and Birds of Nepal and Thibet* was published, consisting of a small volume of 167 pages in a blue paper wrapper. It was uniform with the other specimen catalogues Gray was producing on all classes of animals in the museum. The species were listed under the accepted classification of the day by scientific names followed by synonyms and literature citations, an enumeration of all the museum specimens and country of origin. In Hodgson's catalogue one species was frequently represented by several specimens which were separately listed – the skins, sometimes several if they came from different sexes, adults and juveniles to show variations, skeletal material and mammalian skulls which are important for making specific diagnoses – pickled specimens and anatomical parts preserved in spirit jars, and the drawings. When one takes into account all these factors, it becomes obvious that the Grays were dealing with a huge single consignment.

However, Gray had also been brilliantly successful in attracting other large donations and was also making judicious purchases so that specimens arrived from all quarters, overwhelming his small team of curators. As they grappled with a profusion of pelts and parasitic worms, Hodgson's specimens lay unopened in their boxes awaiting their turn. In the introduction to the catalogue of Hodgson's collections, J.E. Gray stated 'Unfortunately, many of the specimens had been in the country several years, and from want of having been opened and examined, were not in a very good condition'.[34] Sadly Hodgson's bird and mammal specimens are almost all in poor condition today, partly because of their method of preparation and partly because of their maltreatment by the Grays.

Hodgson had already identified, listed and labelled all his specimens and this saved the Grays much of the preliminary work yet, inexplicably, they removed and destroyed all his original specimen labels, replacing them with new labels.[35]

Hodgson had two systems of labelling his specimens: one indicating its name, locality and date of collection written in Nepali, the other showing a personal reference number. In the case of the birds each species, subspecies, sex, and often immatures, if their physical appearance was sufficiently different, received one of these numbers, which were an important aid to matching up the individual skins with the Grays' catalogues of the collections and Hodgson's own numerical references. In the museum each specimen was then recorded in a register and given a unique accession number. Although some skins may have been stuffed and mounted for public display in the museum galleries, the majority were placed in storerooms for future scientific investigation. In his history of the British Museum bird collections, Sharpe criticizes G.R. Gray for wrongly labelling some of Hodgson's later donations from Sikkim as coming from Bihar[36] and it is probable that there were further errors.

Hodgson's collection was freely donated to the British Museum. He bore all the expense of collection and transport to London, and paid his collectors and artists from his private means. In financial terms its value was very considerable. Hodgson would have felt justified, therefore, in addition to requesting a published catalogue, in making two further conditions. These were first 'That Mr Frank Howard who is engaged in publishing Mr Hodgson's drawings of the animals & birds may be allowed to have on loan such specimens as he may require to verify the drawings' and second 'That no person be allowed to figure nor describe the specimens which may not hitherto have been described until Mr Frank Howard's work now in the press has appeared'.[37] Howard's contribution is covered later in this chapter.

In December 1844 Hodgson also requested that the museum should distribute his duplicate specimens to other named institutions.[38] Hodgson by then was becoming dissatisfied with his treatment by the Grays[39] for two reasons – that J.E. Gray was making slow progress on the catalogue and that he had delayed distribution of duplicate specimens.[40] He also complained bitterly about the published catalogue. His personal copy, which is now in The Natural History Museum Library, is covered with his remarks. He took Gray to task for inaccuracies and careless mistakes in the bibliography[41] and for altering some of the scientific names in Hodgson's manuscript catalogue, declaring 'A great many separate species are lumped together in this catalogue'.[42] Among those who were due to receive duplicates were the East India Company, The College of Surgeons, Haslar Hospital and Zoological Society, museums in Leyden, Paris, Berlin, Frankfurt, Edinburgh, Dublin, Newcastle upon Tyne, Canterbury and Manchester and two private collectors.[43] Specimens still preserved in these collections are particularly useful today as at least some of them retain the original Hodgson labels.

Disillusioned perhaps by the way in which he had been treated by the British Museum Hodgson donated, when he returned to England for a short visit in 1853, a large collection comprising about 120 bird and 84 mammal species directly to the East India Company Museum.[44] Some of the mammals were found to be new species and published by Thomas Horsfield, the curator of

the India Museum, with the intention of bringing the 1846 catalogue up to date.[45] However, in 1874, the Russian traveller Fedchenko was unable to see the Hodgson skins because they were still not unpacked.[46] In 1881, when the Company museum was dissolved, the whole collection was donated to the British Museum. Sharpe gives great praise to Mr F. Moore for having preserved the original labels on those specimens which had been under his charge.[47]

During his time in Darjeeling Hodgson expanded his collection of skins and drawings. This later collection included fifty-two bird species from Sikkim, and seven bird and thirty-three mammal species from Tibet. The origin of some of the specimens from this second collection is unclear. While the catalogues of the British Museum and the East India Company[48] state that some of the Hodgson's specimens originated from Nepal, Hodgson deleted Nepal as a source of these later donations in an annotated copy of the second British Museum catalogue held at the Zoological Society of London library. However, Darjeeling lies only a day's walk from the India/Nepal border and as the border ran without demarcation through thick forest his trappers could have unwittingly wandered into Nepal.

Hodgson donated this later collection to the British Museum in 1858 and in exchange he negotiated for a second edition of his catalogue to be published. It was intended to update the first and incorporate the new material, which included fish, amphibians and reptiles in addition to birds and mammals, and more drawings. However he soon became exasperated yet again by J.E. Gray's delays. In an attempt to hasten proceedings he wrote in 1861 to a new member of Gray's staff, Albert Günther, who had been engaged to write a catalogue of snakes, asking him to describe the reptile, amphibian and fish groups in the second edition.[49] In his subordinate position, Günther was probably unable to discuss Hodgson's suggestion with Gray but by then he had published two papers on Hodgson's cold-blooded vertebrates.[50] The catalogue remained with Gray and the second edition of 102 pages, was published in 1863.[51]

Gray had another reason to be grateful to Hodgson. When he took over the Department of Zoology it had no osteological material[52] but Hodgson's donation changed that:

> Mr Hodgson was fortunately far-seeing enough to realise the great importance of osteological collections, and to insist that the whole of his collections, the skulls as well as the skins, should be accepted or rejected together. He thus forced the authorities to countenance Dr Gray's efforts to make an osteological collection, for up to that date it had been thought that skulls and skeletons were only suited to the College of Surgeons.[53]

The British Museum officially recorded that Hodgson donated 980 mammals and 3,802 birds.[54] But a further estimate puts Hodgson's total donation as high as 10,499 specimens comprising 9,512 birds, 903 mammals and 84 reptiles, etc. From this total, the museum retained a series and duplicates, as

Hodgson had requested, were distributed to other organizations.[55] Oldfield Thomas, writing about Hodgson's mammals, recorded that:

> Mr Hodgson's collection was without doubt the finest and most important donation that the Museum ever received from any single person. This is due to the large size of the collection, the numbers of specimens, the accompaniment of skulls and skeletons, and above all to the very great number of types that are contained in it.[56]

Hodgson's relations with the museum world were never easy, and his feelings of disappointment and mistrust may have contributed to his lack of activity in this area later in his life. From early on he severely criticized 'museum men' as 'closet naturalists' who he believed contrived to take the credit for discovering new species based on his specimens. In 1837 he wrote to Eugene Burnouf at the Museum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris: 'Our English Zoological Societies are saucy and trickish and would fain draw from us all our materials for their sole compounding.'[57] Whether he was justified in his conclusion that he was cheated out of due recognition is difficult to prove – it is certainly true that many species that he described as new in his papers were attributed to others, notably by the Gray brothers, to Blyth and to Gould. But the period was one of confusion, with many species being described at around the same time from different sources.

Hodgson's relations with Blyth and Gould demonstrate some of the controversial matters of the day. He crossed swords with Blyth on the issue of credit for species discovery. Blyth was the Curator of the Asiatic Society of Bengal Museum but he was also a renowned zoologist and field worker as well as being an eminent taxonomist. While they both shared an enthusiasm for zoology, their quarrels were probably based on the differences in their classes, outlooks and methods. Hodgson was upper-middle class and a much respected member of the Asiatic Society. By contrast Blyth was at the very bottom of middle class and struggled for many of his twenty-one years as curator of the museum, eventually retiring with an undeservedly low pension awarded by the Society.[58] Both men behaved arrogantly to each other, worsening their deteriorating relationships. One complicating factor was that the situation regarding nomenclature was very uncertain during this period. The rules of nomenclature, which form the basis of those in use today, were formulated by Hugh Strickland around 1840 and Blyth was aware of them. They were not universally accepted or complied with and Hodgson, who was not in touch with the latest developments in taxonomy, still used an older system that Blyth very much disliked. This led to disagreements, an example of which was in 1845, when Hodgson complained to the Asiatic Society that a paper he had submitted to the curator in May 1843, containing his descriptions of many new genera and species, remained unpublished. Meanwhile his paper was being published under Blyth's authorship without any reference to Hodgson.[59] Blyth however had a different view of events. In a letter to his friend Strickland, he wrote:

> Of the new species which I am now describing, Hodgson had furnished a good many, which I have had all this time in hand: he was, and is, terribly eager to have them all published, no matter how crudely; being fond of the credit of making discoveries of this kind, and leaving to others the labours of reducing and determining his species, of which I have done in an immense number of instances, quashing his new species altogether. But there is a very considerable residuum of new species procured by him which still remain to be publicly made known, and these I am now describing out of hand.[60]

While Hodgson believed that Blyth had behaved incorrectly, Blyth was taking as much care as possible to prevent the publication of duplicate names. Blyth fully understood the difficulties caused by nomena nuda (new names unsupported by descriptions) and the use of synonyms (different names for the same species). He was also a notorious procrastinator over the publication of papers including his own. Relations with Gould were poor too. Gould had many interests and was the curator of the Zoological Society's museum, as well as dealing in natural history specimens and taxidermy privately from his home in Soho. While Hodgson was describing species from the specimens he was acquiring in the Himalayas, Gould was doing the same as part of his work. During their time, competition to be the first to describe new species in print was fierce. Five bird species from Nepal were given original descriptions by Gould between 1836 and 1837.[61] These birds must have been described from Hodgson's specimens since he was the only person collecting in the country at that time. When Hodgson discovered what had transpired, he wrote in 1843 to an associate complaining of: 'that interloper and rogue Gould who has constituted himself the guardian of my stores in London.'[62] The breakdown of their joint publishing venture earlier would have contributed to their poor relationship.

Hodgson would have been credited with far more first descriptions if his illustrations had been published. In his *History of the British Museum*, refering to the bird specimens, Sharpe[63] points out that Hodgson's drawings constitute the types of Hodgson's species. Some of the names listed in Hodgson's 'Catalogue of Nipalese Birds Collected Between 1824 and 1844'[64] were new, often they were the names that Hodgson had used on his drawings. Some had been submitted for publication, but all the new names in the Catalogue appeared without descriptions. Had the drawings been published beforehand or together with the Catalogue, Hodgson would have been credited with first describing these species, but instead they became known in scientific terms as nomina nuda.[65] Many of the problems that Hodgson had with his professional colleagues were the result of distance. He recognized the difficulties that he faced and repeatedly called for the assistance and encouragement of museums to support local researchers instead of relying on dry skins and inadequate evidence to provide conclusions. For example he wrote in 1837:

> The phenomena of life are not to be reached by our skins; and the species and classification deduced in Europe from such materials are the bane and disgrace of science. True, we local researchers feel lamentably the want of Museum and Library, but learned Societies at home, if they really sought to advance knowledge in this dept., would lend us these aids, and encourage and support our investigations, instead of striving to anticipate us by crude deductions from insufficient materials – insufficient, I repeat and necessarily so.[66]

There are now three collections, two of them public, of watercolour paintings and pencil sketches of Nepal's vertebrate fauna. Hodgson generously donated the large majority to the Zoological Society of London and the British Museum. In 1874 he gave the originals to the Zoological Society of London. These are bound in 8 large folio volumes and comprise 1,125 sheets of birds and 487 of mammals.[67] He donated another set of 1,319 sheets of illustrations of mammals, birds, reptiles and fish to the British Museum which were received in 1845 and 1858.[68] These are also bound in eight volumes. According to Hunter, Hodgson donated 1,853 zoological drawings to the British Museum, but some were redistributed to other institutions.[69] The illustrations held at the British Museum were those that he intended to use to illustrate his proposed book on the zoology of Nepal. This collection of paintings consists of largely reworked and improved versions of the birds and mammals of the first set and lack almost all of the notes on the originals. Many of the paintings in both collections are remarkably similar, however, the British Museum collection also has some valuable additions of birds and mammals, notably Lesser Rufous-headed Parrotbill *Paradoxornis atrosuperciliaris* as well as thirty sheets of reptiles and fish.

Around 400 bird paintings, over 130 of mammals and 14 of fish and reptiles, some dated 1849, remained under the care of a Nepalese family in Kathmandu until the twentieth century when they were bought by an American and eventually auctioned by Christie's in London in 1997. The bird paintings are inferior in scientific accuracy, executed on small pieces of paper and in most cases are in poor condition when compared to the other collections of paintings. Some of them must have been drawn in Darjeeling – they could have been draft paintings that Hodgson left behind. The British Library had only five of Hodgson's natural history drawings, all of mammals[70] until it purchased thirty mammal paintings at the 1997 auction.[71] The bird and other drawings are in a private collection.

Hodgson's publishing ventures

It is possible that Hodgson got his idea for publishing an illustrated book on the zoology of Nepal from John Gould. In 1830 Gould, as we have already mentioned, ventured into publishing issuing a part-work *A Century of Birds Hitherto Unfigured from the Himalaya Mountains*, illustrated with eighty

coloured plates. Hodgson became one of the 332 subscribers paying £14.14s for his copy.[72] Some other very successful colour-plate books were also being published at the same time. J.E. Gray and Thomas Hardwicke were doing the Indian fauna in a large and lavish format[73] while at the other end of the scale Sir William Jardine was issuing the *Naturalist's Library*, forty small volumes on mammals, birds, fish and insects, with coloured plates, costing six shillings each.[74]

Hodgson first attempted to publish an illustrated book on the fauna of Nepal in the 1830s. He advertised in Indian journals[75] and prepared an unpublished list of potential subscribers containing 311 names.[76] At this time he had plans for a work on a grand scale like Gould's, in which the parts were to be issued at regular intervals over a number of years. He even drew up a publication schedule, with a list of plates in each part. When this failed to get off the ground, Hodgson wrote to several potential collaborators, including Gould. Although the two men had probably never met Hodgson wrote to Gould in 1837 with the idea of them doing a book together on the zoology of Nepal. To Hodgson, a joint enterprise seemed a natural working partnership although, in Hodgson's eyes, Gould worked under a disadvantage. He had never seen the birds illustrated in his *Century* in life and he had never visited India. Hodgson probably saw the zoology of Nepal as a continuation of the *Century*, in which Hodgson's role would be to supply the biological information that had been lacking and a new series of drawings done from life. He hoped that Gould, with access to libraries and museum collections in London, would manage the nomenclature and scientific descriptions. Unknown to Hodgson, Gould was already preparing to leave England for a collecting visit to Australia. In his reply, Gould set out his conditions in no uncertain terms. He would only consider a work on birds and not on birds and mammals. He would write the birds' descriptions and measurements, leaving Hodgson to write on their behaviour and habitat. Gould wanted to keep the work for eighteen months before starting the book. He was 'perfectly convinced . . . that no work executed from the drawings of Indian artists will sell' and wanted the illustrations re-done with the birds depicted in Gould's own *Century* copied into the new book.[77] Gould's terms were rejected by Hodgson partly for financial reasons[78] and Hodgson wrote to Sir Alex Johnstone, Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, 'I am not likely ever to assent to that proposition as it now stands. Mr Gould's scale of illustration seems to be very needlessly large and proportionately expensive. The text attached to Gould's *Century* and to his *Birds of Europe* is miserably trivial . . .' and, 'In my judgement this new series [of paintings] equals or surpasses any work of the sort in scientific accuracy'.[79]

Hodgson had also approached Sir William Jardine in 1835 to seek his collaboration.[80] At first, Jardine seemed favourably disposed to help Hodgson and Sir Alex Johnstone wrote to Hodgson in 1836, 'Sir William . . . enters very warmly into your plan and has, at my request, as he tells me, written to you explaining the course which he would advise you to pursue'.[81] Yet by

October that year no firm plan had been worked out.[82] This move was supported by Prinsep, the Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1837 who considered that Gould's offer was too expensive for Hodgson's subscribers in India and was for 'particular chaps at home who have ample means to gratify a taste for the superb in works of art'.[83] In 1837 Hodgson sent a box of Nepalese bird skins to Jardine who claimed to have found from thirty to fifty new species amongst them.[84] Unfortunately, after a protracted silence in 1840 Jardine then withdrew his support for the book.[85] The reason for this is unclear but the Jardine and Gould families were on intimate terms and were frequent guests at each other's residences. It seems inconceivable that they did not discuss Hodgson's proposals and were well acquainted with his ideas. Perhaps both foresaw potential problems arising from a partnership in which the partners lived thousands of miles apart. The third and last person Hodgson approached was William Swainson, a respected naturalist and artist. They got as far as drawing up a joint contract in 1839 for publishing a work on the zoology of Nepal but it too came to nothing.[86] An insight of Hodgson's attitude to his efforts to secure publication of his book is reflected in his letter to Prinsep requesting the help of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:

> By my soul it is a d____d bore to be compelled to fawn and entreat for subscribers as if one was the obliged instead of the obliging party, when one undertakes to labour with pains and cost for the love of science.[87]

Hodgson did not give up and on his return to England in 1843 he engaged Frank Howard, an illustrator, to reproduce some of his original drawings by lithography. As mentioned earlier Hodgson arranged for Howard to have access to his drawings and specimens deposited in the British Museum.[88] One hand-coloured lithograph of the Chiru is known to have resulted from this enterprise.[89] Although the project was advertised in 1844[90] no more is known about the experiment and it came to nothing. In 1844 Hodgson appealed to the Museum Trustees for some financial assistance to publish the illustrations, citing his generous donation that it might attract their favourable consideration, but the Museum declined.[91]

That Hodgson's zoology of Nepal was never published is to be regretted. Using the stunning and lifelike watercolours now held in The Natural History Museum, London and the Zoological Society of London, backed up by his extensive scientific research, Hodgson had the potential to publish an outstanding natural history book which could have taken its place alongside Gould and others. It is where most of these contemporary works lack essential biological data, and are the poorer for it, that Hodgson's would have surpassed them all resulting from his personal knowledge of the animals and an informed understanding of the ecology of this unique zoological fauna, something which only a person who had lived there for many years could describe adequately. Hodgson made strenuous attempts to publish a book

about the Nepalese fauna. His failure to do so was due to a combination of factors acting against him. Undoubtedly, bad luck played a part but so did his remote postings and the absence of a supportive network of like-minded men in England where the technology and resources to make it happen were available.

Summary

After Hodgson returned to England in 1858 he did no further work on zoology. Probably he felt disillusioned – his relations with the professional world of museum curators were poor and he did not receive the scientific acknowledgement for the species he had discovered or the work that he had done. The Gray brothers had removed the labels on many of his bird skins and had ignored some of his taxonomic classifications. His specimens were in a poor condition. His publishing ventures had failed. Some of his scientific papers and drawings had been temporarily lost by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Zoological Society of London. In 1859 he wrote:

> No-one knows better what pains and cost have been bestowed by me upon zoology and no-one better knows how little fruit of said pains and cost I have yet realised owing to the indifference of the so-called patrons of science. . . . I must have stood without dispute the greatest discoverer nearly on record – certainly by far the greatest on record for northern India for my particular field.[92]

Hodgson's apparent disillusionment was particularly sad as his reputation was high amongst leading zoologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Tributes were widely made to him acknowledging the importance of his work. In his classic book on ornithology *The Birds of India* published in 1862, Jerdon wrote:

> Mr Hodgson, for many years our accomplished Resident at the Court of Nepal, has added very largely to our knowledge of the Birds of the Himalayas, few of which escaped his zealous researches. His valuable papers are published in . . . They are distinguished by deep research and great acumen, and are very full in details of structure.[93]

In his comprehensive and highly acclaimed *Fauna of British India*, Stuart Baker considered that Hodgson, together with Jerdon and Blyth were the fathers of Indian ornithology.[94] Hume gave a lengthy accolade to Hodgson in Hunter's biography. He believed that Hodgson combined much of Blyth's talent for classification with much of Jerdon's habit of persevering personal observation, and excelled the latter in literary gifts and minute and exact research.[95]

Considering these accolades from eminent zoologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is extraordinary that Hodgson received few

marks of reward for services to zoology. The Zoological Society of London awarded Hodgson a silver medal for his help in obtaining a pheasant collection in 1859 and in 1863 he was made an Honorary Member of the Society. He was also elected a member of the Linnaean Society and of the Royal Asiatic Society with flattering expressions of regard. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1877. His obituary in *Ibis*, the well-respected journal of the British Ornithologists' Union, does not do justice to his great achievements. Although the donation of his huge collection of zoological specimens to the British Museum is acknowledged, the significance of his discoveries of numerous species for science is not described. No details are given of the importance of his scientific papers. While there is a mention of his donation of zoological drawings to the British Museum, the obituary does not state they were colour paintings nor give any idea of their large number nor of their excellence. The author (unknown) writes: 'Every mark of distinction which the learned societies of Europe could confer was deservedly bestowed upon Hodgson, but, as might have been expected, he was never knighted, nor asked to become a member of the House of Lords.'[96] The first above-mentioned claim is certainly an exaggeration and the second is almost derogatory considering Hodgson's contributions both as resident in Nepal and in the wider areas of scholarship. Perhaps this inadequate acknowledgement of Hodgson's zoological achievements in his obituary was at least partly due to the long period between his last publication and his death – his lack of activity in this area meant that most zoologists of the day simply did not know him.

Sadly Hodgson's achievements are hardly recognized by naturalists who live in or visit the Himalayas today although his name is certainly familiar to them. Yet his work on Nepalese birds and mammals remains the backbone of our current knowledge. He laid the foundations of studies on Himalayan fauna and provided almost all the information available on Nepalese mammals, birds, amphibians and reptiles until the second half of the twentieth century, when Nepal, for the first time, was opened up to a new generation of zoologists.

Notes

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7

BRIAN HODGSON AND THE MAMMALS AND OTHER ANIMALS OF NEPAL

Ann Datta

Introduction

For nearly forty years (1820–1858) Brian Houghton Hodgson studied the vertebrate fauna (mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians and fish) of Nepal and the neighbouring Himalayan kingdom of Sikkim, Tibet, and the area around Darjeeling, the hill town in present day West Bengal. He discovered many new mammal and bird species and described their behaviour at a time when field studies were virtually ignored in Europe. By virtue of his long residence in Nepal, Hodgson is most closely associated with that country but his sphere of influence is far wider and he was the first person known to work on the mammalian fauna of Tibet. This paper examines Hodgson's role in the discovery of the mammals, reptiles, amphibians and fish of the eastern Himalayan region 150 years ago and reviews Hodgson's historical position as one of the foremost zoologists of the Indian subcontinent.

It is highly likely that when Hodgson took up his appointment in the Bengal Civil Service and first set foot in Calcutta in 1819 aged nineteen, his heightened sense of curiosity was quickly aroused by the sight of unusual animals that up until then he might have only glimpsed in England's menageries or read about in a traveller's tale. Elephants, curious hump-backed cattle, troops of monkeys and herds of water buffalo were unafraid and frequently encountered in the streets. Compared with wild animals in England where it was customary to drive them away with oaths and stones or to hunt them for sport, here Hodgson found a nation whose culture taught empathy with the animal kingdom, and animals that were comparatively tame, allowing him to observe them closely. In Nepal, Hodgson noted the tranquil familiarity of Asians towards animals and the fondness of animals for their keepers.[1] Of the rhinoceros he wrote, 'If reared in confinement, or taken young, the rhinoceros is perfectly tractable, and may be driven out to graze, through the streets of a crowded city, by a single man without even a halter to restrain it'.[2] Like the royalty of Europe, Indian maharajahs kept menageries and

the East India Company's own at Barrackpore in Bengal was famous for the variety of animals housed there. Unfamiliar birds flocked in the trees and rooftops, their loud calls strange to his ears. But the wildlife also posed dangers unknown in England, principally from the numerous types of venomous snakes that were found in every town and village.

In Hodgson's first year in India, Sir Charles and Lady D'Oyly introduced him to the cultural institutions in Calcutta, notably the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[3] The Society, founded in 1784, provided a valuable forum for the isolated European community to share interests and disseminate discoveries in the humanities and sciences. In the beginning the Society's meetings were reported in the *Government Gazette Calcutta*[4] and *Quarterly Oriental Magazine*. The *Gazette* was widely distributed in England and Europe and served as an important literary conduit between East and West. But by the 1820s so many contributions were being brought to the Asiatic Society's meetings and members were becoming increasingly frustrated by the lack of rapid publishing opportunities in India, the time it took to communicate with societies in the home country and the competition they faced there for acceptance by the small number of academic institutions which produced journals. As a means of overcoming these obstacles, the Asiatic Society commenced its own journal, *Gleanings in Science,* in 1829, which was succeeded in 1832 by the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*

There was in Calcutta a succession of dedicated men whose interests were the natural history of Asia and who regularly supported the Society. Most were in the employ of the British East India Company. Hodgson was elected to membership of the Society on 24 April 1833[5] and joined fellow natural historians John McClelland, Archibald J. Campbell, Clarke Abel and Edward Blyth all of whom contributed regularly to the Society. These men kept in regular contact with the professionals at the forefront of the zoological sciences in England: J.E. Gray and Albert Günther at the British Museum, N.A.Vigors, E.T. Bennett and William Ogilby at the Zoological Society, Richard Owen at the Royal College of Surgeons, Thomas Horsfield at the India Museum, and independent naturalists Thomas Hardwicke, Charles Hamilton Smith, John Gould, Sir William Jardine and others. Through correspondence and access to scientific journals a reciprocal exchange of information ensued. The effectiveness of this was greatly enhanced after 1830 when the Zoological Society of London commenced its *Proceedings*. Hodgson wrote for both the Asiatic Society, where most of his zoological work was published, and the Zoological Society.

Most officers posted to the East were sportsmen and hunters. Many professed a natural history interest, shared the spoils of a day's hunting with their more learned fellows and deposited their trophies in museums. Hodgson was a keen sportsman throughout his life and filled his leisure hours with shooting birds. On 15 September 1834 he wrote from Kathmandu to his sister Fanny, 'In the six colder months I follow the woodcock and pheasant with all the energy of a Nimrod, and I always relish the sweet air and noble scenery of

this fine region'.[6] From this sporting indulgence, he became so interested in the wildlife that he engaged hunters to shoot and trap animals for him.[7] Further references to Hodgson's fondness for shooting are mentioned in J.D. Hooker's Himalayan diaries, written in 1848 when he and Hodgson travelled by horseback and elephant in the terai, and Hodgson left Hooker botanizing while he and his hunters went off shooting birds.[8]

Early mammal work in Nepal

Hodgson commenced his zoological work in Nepal in 1824[9] and his earliest published research described the gestation and birth of a rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*, Indian Rhinoceros or Greater One-horned Rhinoceros) in the menagerie of the Rajah of Nepal. Hodgson had witnessed the pair copulating and eagerly awaited the birth which he carefully noted took place seventeen to eighteen months afterwards. It was at odds with the nine months gestation that the great eighteenth-century French zoologist Georges Buffon claimed and gave Hodgson his first insight into the perpetuation of zoological inaccuracies in classic zoological texts.[10] For nineteen months Hodgson studied and measured the infant rhinoceros. 'The first dimensions taken of the animal were made at three days old, when it measured two feet in height, three feet four inches and three-quarters in length, and four feet and seven-fourths of an inch in its greater circumference.' Hodgson measured it again at one, fourteen and nineteen months old when it was found to be 'four feet four inches high, seven feet four inches and a half long, and nine feet five inches in circumference'.[11] Hodgson measured it for the last time when it was eight years and a month old and recorded its length was '9 ft. 3 in. – his height, at the shoulder, 4 ft. 10 in., utmost girth of the body 10 ft. 5 in. length of the head 2 ft. 4 in. and of the horn 5 inches'.[12] The careful observations and meticulous notes were an indication of the exemplary methodical work that would flow from Hodgson's pen for forty years. On rare occasions, from the sixteenth century, a live rhinoceros was taken to Europe where it was the subject of much interest because of its rarity, size and alleged ferocity, but Hodgson was probably the first person to record the birth and growth of a young animal. His findings coincided with the arrival of the first rhinoceros in London Zoo in 1834.[13]

Pantholops hodgsonii – the Tibetan antelope

When Hodgson was twenty-six years old, he was honoured in a highly flattering gesture by Dr Clarke Abel who named a new Asiatic antelope after him, *Antelope hodgsonii* (now *Pantholops hodgsonii*), the Tibetan Antelope or Chiru of the Tibetans, at a meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in August 1826.[14] Abel, a medical doctor and distinguished botanist working in Calcutta, was also the secretary of the Physical Class of the Society, with responsibility for the natural, physical and medical sciences. Although naturalists

are frequently honoured in the names of animals and plants, it is rare for someone as young as Hodgson, who had barely made an impression in zoological circles, to be singled out in this way. *Pantholops hodgsonii* was a magnificent beast standing up to three feet high at the shoulder and with elegantly curved horns measuring two feet and six inches.[15] Hodgson had sent Abel the skin, the skull with both horns still attached and the notes he had made when it was living in the Rajah of Nepal's menagerie. The Tibetan Antelope had been a live gift to the Rajah of Nepal from the Lama of Digurchi whose pet it had been. As the more experienced person, Abel

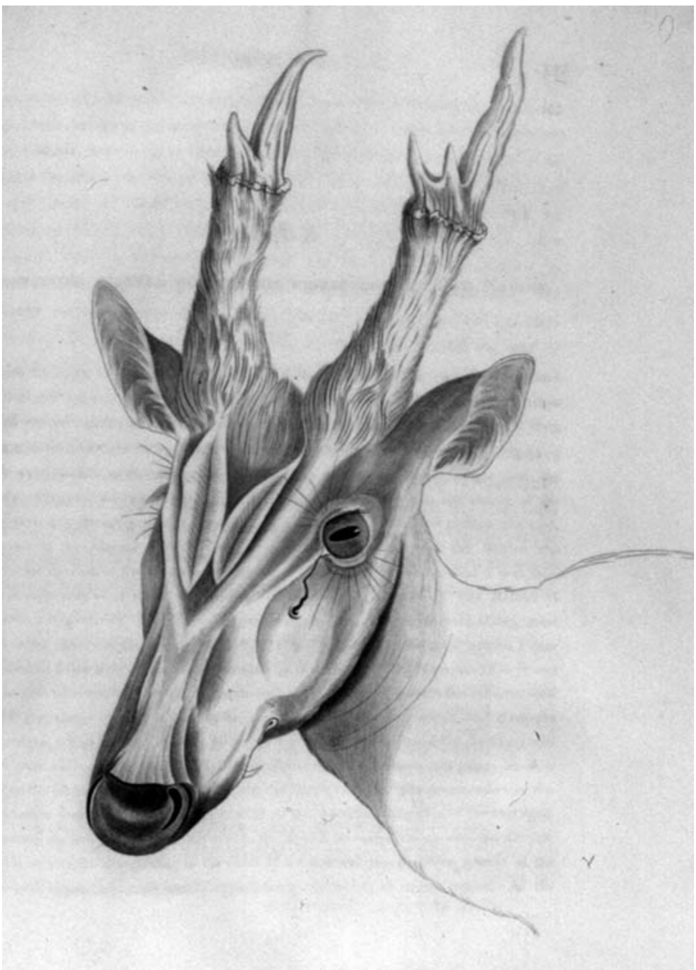


Figure 7.1 Head of the Ratwa deer (*Muntiacus Muntjak*). Engraving of drawing by Rajman Singh from *Asiat. Res.* vol. 18, 1833, photo from RAS.

supplemented Hodgson's notes by describing the specific features that characterized the new species and coined the name for it. The discovery was widely reported in Europe.[16] Abel's contribution was essential because, although natural history is a subject in which amateurs make a very real contribution as Hodgson was to do, there are rules governing the application of names of new species to be followed, and house styles to adhere to when writing for learned journals. By position and qualification, Abel was just the right person to encourage an intelligent and able junior officer like Hodgson and set him on the right path.

It did not take the local people of Kathmandu long to understand Hodgson's interest in their animals and offer to find, catch and bring them to him, dead and alive. Before long Hodgson was the recipient of several more Tibetan Antelopes giving him the opportunity to examine males and females, young and old. The same people who brought specimens also gave Hodgson an insight into the lives of the animals he could not see in their natural habitats. They told him the Chiru lived in large herds of up to 100 animals in Tibet and in the mating season the males would fight and break off their horns. This explained why single horns and Nepalese paintings of one-horned animals were reaching Calcutta and perpetuating the unicorn myth.[17] As Hodgson's knowledge about the Tibetan Antelope increased, he published several papers in Indian and English journals. A lot of it was repetitive and would not be acceptable to editors today but at the time the discovery excited much interest in India and England. Hodgson's assertions unwittingly led him into an argument with Major C. Hamilton Smith, an English authority on mammals, about the origin of the unicorn in Greek mythology.[18] When Hamilton Smith challenged Hodgson's views on the unicorn theory, Hodgson replied:

> Major Smith alludes to, and draws his information from a variety of old sources. How comes it that he never turned to the brief but authentic notices by Dr C. Abel, in the Government Gazette of the day, reporting the Asiatic Society's Proceedings – not, query, who was likely to be best informed upon it? The Nomenclator, a zealous Naturalist, *on the spot* – or, Major Smith, an able Zoologist indeed, but, *at the distance of 12000 miles from us*?[19]

Today the Chiru (see Plate 6) is severely endangered by poaching for its fine fleece which is used to make high-priced garments like shahtoosh shawls, each of which can cost £10,000.[20] By the middle of the nineteenth century most of the mysteries of the animal world had been resolved. The term 'yeti' or abominable snowman may not have been coined in Hodgson's day but on one occasion his Nepalese shooters encountered a 'man' covered with long hair. Instead of shooting the creature they fled in fear and it was never seen again.[21] Sightings of the 'yeti', reported in the twentieth century, have still not been satisfactorily explained.

First attempts to describe Nepalese mammals

In 1831 Hodgson published a description of a bubaline antelope which he thought was a new species. He began with an account of its behaviour and habitat, suggesting he had seen the animals in life or had relied on his hunters to supply the information, followed by a physical description of the males and females from the external anatomy, a note on the Nepalese name, thar, and its edibility and concluded with a table of its dimensions. In this paper Hodgson contemplated the biological relationships of deer and antelopes to sheep and goats and bemoans his 'little personal experience of the matter, and no good book to refer to'. An anonymous postscript stated that Hodgson's proposed name, 'Antilope bubaline', had already been used for an African animal, indicating the paper had been refereed by a more experienced person with access to scientific literature that was not available to Hodgson, and he gave Hodgson's animal the name *Antilope thar*.[22]

Many factors had to be taken into account when making a zoological identification and many hazards lay in the path of the unwary and inexperienced. The animal kingdom has scope for tremendous variation within a species in size, colour, sexual dimorphism, age and maturity, regional differences. Sometimes these factors were further compounded by abnormal or imperfect specimens, e.g. Hodgson's specimen of a Tibetan Badger was damaged because it was so fierce when it was caught that it had to have its teeth knocked out.[23] Correct determinations can only be confidently made after a thorough study of the literature and by examining and comparing specimens in museum collections, neither of which were available to Hodgson.

When Hodgson arrived in Nepal no zoological books about the fauna of Nepal were available. Buffon's *Histoire Naturelle* and George Shaw's *General Zoology,* and afterwards Cuvier's *Animal Kingdom* offered a sound zoological foundation as did the monographs on particular animal groups which became more numerous from the 1830s onwards. But no books could keep up with the momentum of new discoveries in the animal world which were being described in journals of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta, the Zoological Society and their European counterparts throughout the nineteenth century; even fewer people had unlimited access to them. As a result, the same animals were described as new species by different workers again and again because communication failed to keep pace with the discoveries and thousands of synonyms were spawned. That is exactly what happened with *Antilope thar/Antilope bubaline*. When Hodgson's specimen was later re-examined, the animal was discovered not to be a new species but the Serow, *Naemorhedus sumatraensis* (see Plate 5), an animal with a wide distribution found in South China, the Himalayas, Malaysia and Sumatra and first described in the scientific literature in 1799 from a Sumatran specimen.[24] Hodgson's next two papers, describing *Felis moormensis* which he thought was a new member of the cat family[25] and *Cervus jarai*, purported to be a new species of deer,[26] were eventually shown to be synonyms of the Asiatic Golden Cat, *Catopuma*

temminckii and the Sambar, *Cervus unicolor* respectively, species that were already known.[27] Although rare, sometimes two workers can find themselves both describing the same new species in print within months of each other, as happened in 1847 when Hodgson and J.E. Gray at the British Museum each received a new Himalayan Porcupine. Hodgson called it *Hystrix alophus* in August 1847.[28] Just beating Hodgson by a couple of months, Gray in June 1847 named his specimen after Hodgson, *Acanthion hodgsoni*.[29] Both names have since been reduced to synonymy as this wide ranging species was first named, by Linnaeus in 1758, *Hystrix brachyura*, the Malayan Porcupine. [30] The constant revision of animal names continues to this day. Recently, Hodgson's three species of musk deer,[31] (see Plate 9) now in the collections of The Natural History Museum, have been re-examined leading to a suggested change in their status.[32] Today, the International Commission for Zoological Nomenclature regulates and establishes priority for names which are disputed.

New species in Nepal and Tibet

The first new species Hodgson described, in 1833 and which is still valid, was the Bharal or Blue Sheep, *Pseudois nayaur*,[33] a native of Tibet and regarded as intermediate between sheep and goats.[34] In 1835 he described three more new species, the Yellow-bellied Weasel, *Mustela kathiah*[35] and two bats, Hodgson's Bat, *Myotis formosus* and the Great Roundleaf Bat, *Hipposideros armiger*.[36] He went on to describe one new mole, a new hare, a new pika – the Black-lipped Pika, *Ochotona curzoniae* which he named after the Hon. Mrs Curzon in 1858 – three new squirrels, five new rodents, the Tibetan Fox and four more carnivores, the Pygmy Hog, and the Takin. In total Hodgson discovered twenty-two new species of Nepalese and Tibetan mammals (Appendix 1). Many more mammals which Hodgson thought were new species are recognized today as subspecies.

Some of the new species were discovered after Hodgson moved to Darjeeling in 1845. Many of the animals he had seen in Nepal were also found in Darjeeling but from this new location he was able to send out his hunters further east and north, to Sikkim and Tibet, through his connection with Dr Campbell who had become superintendent of Darjeeling. Some of Hodgson's last discoveries were especially interesting.

One of these was the Pygmy Hog, *Porcula salvania* (now called *Sus salvanius*).[37] These miniature pigs, about the size of a large hare, and black-brown in colour, were a surprise to everyone (see Plate 10). Hodgson, who did not see them in life, wrote:

> I obtained my single specimen recently in the tarai of Sikim; but I know that the species dwells also in the tarai of Nepaul . . . though such are its rarity and secludedness, that knowledge of its existence and anxious to procure it as I have been for 15 years past, I have only just succeeded. Even the aborigines whose home is the forest,

> seldom see and still seldomer obtain it, much as they covet it for its delicious flesh.

The Pygmy Hogs lived in herds of five to twenty animals in which the males were fiercely protective of the females and young ones. They were omnivorous and ate roots and bulbs, eggs, young birds, insects and reptiles. The Pygmy Hog is even more elusive today and is highly endangered, its populations being confined to a small tract of the terai in Assam.

In contrast to the diminutive Pygmy Hog was Hodgson's discovery of the Takin, *Budorcas taxicolor*, a bovine from the Himalayas, the skin of which was given to Hodgson by a Major Jenkins.[38] It is a massive creature, six and a half feet long and standing three and a half feet high at the shoulder. Its large head with heavy backward pointing horns is supported on a powerful neck. It lives in the eastern Himalayas, Bhutan and Assam (where Hodgson's skins came from), and China.[39]

Eventually Hodgson became drawn into making analyses of relationships of members of some of the more complex mammalian groups, whose species differences were obscure and ambiguous. In his study of Nepalese sheep and goats, he compared them by tabulating their physical characters in an attempt to make a key to aid their identification.[40] His ideas came to a climax in 1847 when he published substantial papers on the classification and relationships of the ruminants,[41] the plantigrades (an obsolete term for the group containing the Red Panda, *Ailurus fulgens*)[42] (see Plate 7) and the four-horned antelopes of India.[43] They were reviews of the information available at the time but they have been superseded and their value today is mostly historical.

Hodgson also took an interest in the domestic animals of Nepal and their relationships with their wild relatives, and he wrote about experiments in animal husbandry whereby the wild and domestic buffalo were crossed to improve the domestic breed.[44]

Animal distribution

Animal distribution is determined by a number of factors – climate, geography, vegetation, other animals and man. Recognizing the difficulties he had already faced in describing the Nepalese mammals from personal experience, in 1832 Hodgson compiled a basic list of Nepalese mammals that served as a benchmark for his future mammalian work. He wrote:

> I am but an amateur zoologist, and have but recently turned my attention to the mammals: but as I may be soon removed from Nepal, or have my attention drawn off from Natural History to graver labours, I shall not let an idle conceit of accuracy prevent me from mentioning what has fallen under my observation, so far . . . Without professing therefore to give a full or exact enumeration of the mammalia of Nepal, I proceed to notice the result of limited observation.[45]

The paper contains the names of about fifty mammals but it is prefaced by an important and original review of the zoogeography of Nepal in which Hodgson recognized three discrete zones, 'juxta-Indian, the Central and the juxta-Himalayan', each zone inhabited by a distinctive fauna. This was a landmark paper for Hodgson, which he revised twelve years later.[46] Hodgson described about eighty-seven mammal species from Nepal, constituting about two thirds of the total now recorded from the country.[47] He recorded thirty-seven species from Tibet and countries on Nepal's eastern boundary.[48] Later on Hodgson turned to the physical geography of the Himalayas and how it affected animal distribution. The Himalayas form a natural high mountainous boundary between the tropical Indian sub-continent and the snow covered land occupied by Tibet and China to the north. In between the two extremes is a vast transitional zone where some typical Palearctic animals from the north are found living with southern species and endemic animals found nowhere else in the world.[49] In his paper on the Tibetan Badger, Hodgson compared it with the European and American species.[50]

Animal behaviour

From 1833 until 1843, his last year of residence in Nepal, Hodgson continued to publish on Nepalese mammals. His papers are interesting because, although he was unable to see most of the animals in their natural habitats, he kept many alive and was welcome to visit the menageries of the Rajah of Nepal and the Prime Minister of Nepal, General Bhim Sen. The latter had a large enclosure containing wild birds and mammals, in which lived several Musk Deer.[51] Hodgson noted the reproductive and feeding habits and how the coat colour changes after birth. As a result his writing abounds with facts about the behaviour of exotic species on a scale that few others achieved. In fact, by 1836, Hodgson was becoming frustrated with the problems he encountered in zoological taxonomy, and wrote:

> But, in truth, my object has been, and is, much less to share in the scramble of nomenclators, than to ascertain the habits and structure of species. Nothing is so vague at present as the true limits of species, and as my *first* aim was rather to find resemblances than differences, so perhaps it might wisely have been my *last*. [52]

When Hodgson described the Spotted Linsang for the first time in 1841[53] it was from skins obtained in Nepal and Sikim but in 1847 a live animal was brought to him. Hodgson wrote:

> It was as gentle as a dormouse, and like that little creature, loved above all things to nestle itself in its keeper's bosom, being very sensitive to cold and very fond of being petted: nor did it ever show the least irritability. It was fed with raw meat, and refused fruits, fish

> and eggs. Any sort of sound it never uttered so that I know not its voice. The times of breeding are said to be February and August, and the litter to consist of two young, there being two litters each year.[54]

Although some behaviour of captive animals is now recognized as unnatural, in Hodgson's day his observations were an exciting novelty.

Hodgson was writing at a time when European scientists were occupied primarily in describing and classifying new species and paid very little attention to the place of animals in nature. Hodgson's fulsome account of the Himalayan wildlife is therefore both original and refreshing amongst a profusion of precise descriptions and economical writing. He was in a position where he could observe wild animals in the Rajah's menagerie and was free of the conventions that shackled and stifled creativity in a formal institution, and he had the time and interest. For many years Hodgson's own observations were not surpassed.

Anatomical studies

For a non-medically trained person, Hodgson carried out a surprisingly large number of dissections and anatomical investigations. It is highly likely that Dr Archibald J. Campbell, medical attendant to the British Resident in Kathmandu and Hodgson's right-hand man, was instrumental in instructing Hodgson and probably some of his assistants in dissection techniques.[55] Hodgson believed a study of comparative anatomy would help to elucidate relationships between closely related and physically similar species like ruminants (antelopes, goats, sheep, cattle).[56] Although this extra detail was interesting, except for the skulls and dentition which are regularly used for classifying mammals, it was seldom used in species identification, which was largely based on external characters of preserved skins in museums. Comparative anatomy in nineteenth-century England was divorced from museum work and carried out in universities or medical colleges. Quite early on in his zoological work, Hodgson had observed unusual protuberances on the sides of the nostrils of the Tibetan Antelope. He wrote, 'Close to the outer margin of either nostril is a singular, soft, fleshy, or rather skinny, tumour or tuft, about the size and shape of the half of a domestic fowl's egg. The purpose of these tufts I cannot discover'.[57] Two years later when Hodgson had access to more specimens he dissected them:

> The nasal tumours are natural formations, and not the consequence of disease, as had been suggested to me. I have lately examined them with care, and find them to be composed of firm, elastic skin and cartilage, like the nostrils, immediately behind the posterior boundary of which they are placed, and into which they open freely and obviously; . . . Externally, these peculiar formations present a round, firm, elastic swelling on each lip . . . Internally, they constitute a sac of capacity to

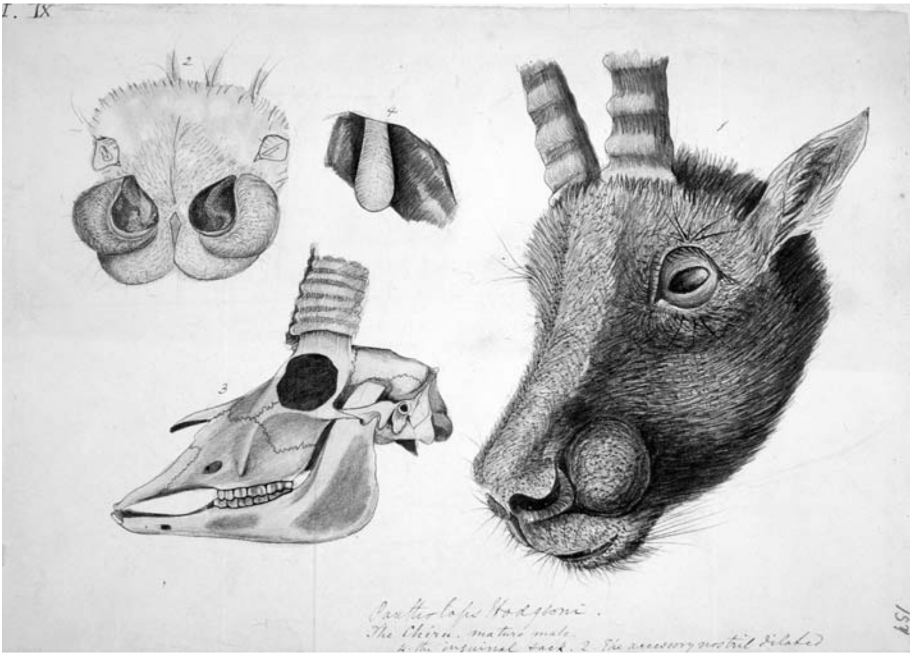


Figure 7.2 Anatomy of the Chiru nostril, undated, pre-1843. Artist unknown, *Drawings of Mammalia*, pl. 151, NHM.

> hold a marble, lined with the same skin which lines the nostrils . . . These sacs or sinuses are usually defiled with mucus, secreted from the nose; and they seem to me (who am no anatomist) to be nothing more than accessory nostrils, designed to assist this exceedingly fleet animal in breathing, when he is exerting all his speed.[58]

There is no doubt that by considering the behaviour and anatomy, as well as the taxonomy, Hodgson was providing a very well-rounded picture of an animal. He was fascinated by the secretion of musk by the musk deer, *Moschus chrysogaster*, into a special pouch, and published an illustrated paper showing the anatomical modifications.[59]

Hodgson was, of course, extremely well-placed to carry out studies on freshly killed animals by which he hoped to avoid the mistakes of the closet naturalists who described their misconceptions from reliance on imperfectly dried skins. Hodgson cited George Shaw's *General Zoology* and the distorted skin Shaw used to base his description of an indeterminate species of deer.[60] The heated words that passed between Hodgson and some of his contemporaries for failing to recognize species or misidentifications were the result of frustrations felt by all men at the time from the lack of adequate resources.

For men stationed in the east, these frustrations were compounded by the distance and time it took to receive intelligence from Europe and the most trying and taxing physical conditions in tropical countries where they struggled to overcome the adverse effects of monsoons, flies, high temperatures and humidity and diseases. It is no wonder some of them became tetchy and unsympathetic towards the closet naturalists in Europe!

The reptiles, amphibians and fish of Nepal

Whereas Hodgson wrote voluminously on birds and mammals of Nepal, taking advantage of his situation which enabled him to study them in life as well as in his specimen collections, the country's reptiles, amphibians and fish were described by others.[61] But Hodgson was the first known collector of reptiles, amphibians and fish from Nepal.[62] The British Museum had the first choice of Hodgson's specimen collections in 1843 and 1858 and among the specimens selected were representatives from the lower vertebrates, including about thirty-eight fish specimens.[63] The first person to publish on these lower vertebrates was T.E. Cantor who described Hodgson's snakes in a catalogue published in 1839.[64]

It is known that specimens of the lower vertebrates were present in Hodgson's first collection donated to the British Museum in 1843.[65] However, they were not included in J.E. Gray's catalogue of Hodgson's collection.[66] When Hodgson made his second donation to the British Museum in 1858, he requested Gray to list the lower vertebrates in the second edition of the catalogue.[67] The catalogue enumerates thirty-one reptiles, five amphibians and thirty-five fish, and lists specimens and drawings. There were more snakes in the collection than any other reptile. Most entries were very brief but Albert Günther of the British Museum made full use of Hodgson's specimens in two reviews.[68]

Günther's first paper published in 1860 was significant for it not only listed all the then known Himalayan species of reptiles but it attempted an analysis of their distribution in the Himalayas by altitude and horizontal distribution. It was a more elaborate division into temperature and climate zones than Hodgson's own earlier classification.[69] According to Günther, Hodgson's specimen labels lacked altitude making it more difficult for him to assign Hodgson's animals accurately. Günther named an olive coloured, fifty-one-inch long colubrid snake from Ladakh, Nepal and Tibet after Hodgson, *Spilotes hodgsonii*,[70] now *Elaphe hodgsoni*, Hodgson's racer. It was one of the four new species of snakes Günther discovered in Hodgson's collection. Günther's second paper published in 1861 provided a detailed catalogue of Hodgson's lower vertebrates in the British Museum, in which forty-one reptiles and amphibians and thirty-four fish were enumerated. Of the twenty-nine amphibians found in Nepal, Hodgson collected only five but they included three new species. He also found twenty-eight species of reptiles, about half the total.[71]

Hodgson was only the second person to collect fish in Nepal after Francis Buchanan Hamilton in 1802–1803. Though Hodgson's fish collection was

numerically small in species – there are 179 native species in Nepal[72] – and numbers of specimens, it was of considerable biological interest. Some of Hodgson's fish were marine species, which puzzled Günther when he was writing up Hodgson's collection since Nepal has no coastline. Günther tried to establish from where Hodgson had acquired them, and concluded they ascended the rivers to Nepal[73] but correspondence suggests Hodgson's servants collected them on journeys to Calcutta.[74]

While Hodgson's collection of the lower vertebrates was nowhere near comprehensive, it was an important early donation to the British Museum and provided the basis for Günther's substantial reviews. It was not until later in the nineteenth century, when Blanford's *Fauna of British India* was published, that the first faunas of the Indian subcontinent were written and only in the last few years that Nepalese faunas have become available.[75]

Hodgson and entomology

Although Hodgson was interested in everything around him, he did not make any contribution to entomology until 1848 when he published a paper about the silk worm from the Saul forest. It met with a robust response from R.W.G. Frith, not least because, Frith claimed, the beautiful colour plate was inaccurate:

> The drawing represents the perfect insect, the caterpillar and cocoon, all of life-size. They are very fairly executed, but the artist has committed one great error: he has figured the female moth, and given to it the deeply pectinated antennae of the male insect.[76]

Conclusion

Hodgson's name will always be associated with the zoology of Nepal because of his long association with the country but animals know no political boundaries, only natural ones, and Hodgson made a profound contribution to Himalayan vertebrate zoology from Nepal to Darjeeling, Sikkim and beyond to Tibet. His work on the mammals included descriptions of new species, and the first careful monitoring of the behaviour and internal anatomy of mammals from that part of the world. He produced the first checklists of Nepalese and Tibetan mammals. He postulated on the interrelationships of several mammalian groups including the ruminants and the plantigrades. However, his most valuable contributions were on individual animals, made at first hand, and he was the first European to study them in depth. Hodgson's studies of behaviour and ecology of Himalayan species were made a century before these topics became integral to the study of zoology. Hodgson's achievements are all the more remarkable when it is considered that they were accomplished without access to any of the great museum collections or libraries in Europe.

Appendix 1

Mammalian species first described by B.H. Hodgson (NB Mammalian subspecies discovered by Hodgson have not been included.)

The classification and nomenclature used here and in the text follows Wilson and Reeder (Smithsonian Natural History Museum, 1993); http://www.nmnh.sci.edu/msw/.

Other mammalian nomenclators used were Corbet and Hill (1992) and Ellerman and Morrison-Scott (1966).

All the animals described below were first described by Hodgson in the year shown. In some cases, the name and date are presented in a bracket which indicates that subsequently the species was re-classified into a different genus.

Order Insectivora. Insectivores
Family Talpidae. Moles
Talpa (=*Euroscaptor) micrura* (Hodgson 1841). Eastern Mole.

Order Lagomorpha. Hares, Rabbits & Pikas
Family Leporidae. Hares and Rabbits
Lepus oiostolus (Hodgson 1840). Woolly Hare.
Family Octotonidae. Pikas
Ochotona curzoniae (Hodgson 1858). Black-lipped Pika.

Order Rodentia. Rodents
Family Sciuridae. Squirrels
Petaurista magnificus (Hodgson 1836). Hodgson's Flying Squirrel.
Hylopetes alboniger (Hodgson 1836). Particoloured Flying Squirrel.
Dremomys lokriah (Hodgson 1836). Orange-bellied Squirrel.
Marmota bobak (Hodgson 1841). Himalayan Marmot.
Family Rhizomyidae. Root and bamboo rats
Cannomys badius (Hodgson 1841). Lesser Bamboo Rat.
Family Muridae. Old world rats and mice
Rattus nitidus (Hodgson 1845). Himalayan Field Rat.
Rattus (=*Niviventer*) *niviventer* (Hodgson 1836). White-bellied Rat.
Mus cervicolor (Hodgson 1845). Fawn-coloured Mouse.
Microtus (=*Pitymys*) *sikimensis* (Hodgson 1849). Sikkim Vole.

Order Carnivora. Carnivora
Family Canidae. Dogs
*Vulpes ferrilata (*Hodgson 1842). Tibetan Fox.
Family Mustelidae. Weasels
*Mustela kathiah (*Hodgson 1835). Yellow-bellied Weasel.
Family Viverridae. Civets
Prionodon pardicotor (Hodgson 1841). Spotted Linsang.

Family Herpestidae. Mongooses
Herpestes auropunctatus (Hodgson 1836). Small Indian Mongoose.
Herpestes urva (Hodgson 1836). Crab-eating Mongoose.
Order Artiodactyla. Even-toed ungulates
Family Suidae. Wild pigs and boars
Sus salvanius (Hodgson 1847). Pygmy Hog.
Family Bovidae. Bovids. Sheep, cattle, goats, antelopes
Pseudois nayaur (Hodgson 1833). Bharal or Blue Sheep.
Budorcas taxicolor (Hodgson 1850). Takin.

Order Chiroptera. Bats
Family Rhinolophidae. Horseshoe and old world leaf-nosed bats
Hipposideros armiger (Hodgson 1835). Great Roundleaf Bat.
Family Vespertilionidae. Vespertilionid bats
Myotis formosus (Hodgson 1835). Hodgson's Bat.

New species of reptiles and amphibians described from Hodgson's collections[1]

Bufo himalayanus (toad).
Rana liebigii (frog).
Rhacophorus maximus (frog).
4 snakes including: *Elaphe hodgsoni*, Hodgson's racer, and *Trimeresurus monticola*, Mountain pit viper.

Appendix 2

Some mammal and reptile species named after Hodgson

Mammals

Hystrix hodgsoni hodgsoni (Gray 1847). Now *Hystrix brachyuran hodgsoni*. A type of porcupine which ranges from Nepal to Sikim.[2]
Pantholops hodgsoni (Abel 1826). Tibetan Antelope.
Nemorhaedus goral hodgsoni (Pocock 1908).
Ovis ammon hodgsoni (Blyth 1841). Argali.[3]

Reptiles

Elaphe hodgsoni (Günther 1860). Hodgson's racer (a snake).

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8

A PIONEER OF HIMALAYAN ORNITHOLOGY

Carol Inskipp

Brian Hodgson was the first person to study the birds of the forests and mountains of the Himalayas, a true pioneer of Himalayan ornithology. His work on birds is without doubt his major achievement in the field of zoology. Hodgson's bird collection of 9,512 specimens was one of the largest made in Asia and comprised 672 species, of which 124 were new to science. He is credited with first descriptions of 80 bird species (see the Appendix), the rest being mainly attributed to Blyth, the Gray brothers and Gould, who described the species based on Hodgson's specimens.

An important tribute made to Hodgson and one that he must surely have valued is the number of bird species that bear his name. Hodgson's Frogmouth, Hodgson's Hawk-Cuckoo, Hodgson's Redstart, Hodgson's Bushchat and Hodgson's Pipit are amongst the English names. In scientific nomenclature his name appears even more: *Columba hodgsonii*, *Batrachostomus hodgsoni*, *Muscicapella hodgsoni*, *Ficedula hodgsonii*, *Phoenicurus hodgsoni*, *Prinia hodgsonii*, *Abroscopus hodgsonii* and even a genus *Hodgsonius*, an honour shared by few other ornithologists.

His collection of Nepalese birds is particularly extensive, representing almost three-quarters of the country's present total. In Hodgson's unpublished notes, on the back of his paintings, he frequently refers to bird species collected in the Kathmandu Valley and the surrounding mountains. There is also a small number of species obtained from Bhimpedi, Mukwanpur and Hitauda, all were then villages on the route from India to the Nepalese capital. These specimens were almost certainly collected by Hodgson personally. However, as his movements were almost entirely restricted to the Kathmandu Valley, the majority of his specimens were collected by others. Virtually nothing is known about these collectors who were presumably a Nepali team of trappers. Unfortunately, there is no available information on the trapping methods they used for birds, nor on the localities where they collected. Most specimens are described by Hodgson as coming from one of the broad geographical regions of Nepal, such as the terai, central hills or *kachar* (see Chapter 6).

Hodgson's trappers collected in a wide range of habitats and altitudes in Nepal, but understandably did not apparently do so in the more remote regions of the country. For instance they only obtained two species restricted to the west of the country: Cheer Pheasant *Catreus wallichii* and Koklass Pheasant *Pucrasia macrolopha*. Birds characteristic of trans-Himalayan Nepal, a region that is difficult to reach even today, are also missing from the collection as are many Nepalese species that are chiefly found above 3,050m although there are a number of references to birds taken in Gosainkund, a high mountainous area north of Kathmandu, in present day Langtang National Park.

One important aspect of Hodgson's bird studies was his interest in observing and describing species' behaviour and habitat at every opportunity. He was one of the earliest fieldworkers to do this, believing the information helped to classify species. While his papers mainly comprise detailed descriptions of plumages and external and internal structure, he often included lively and interesting accounts and notes of bird behaviour, which he made from field observations. This chapter summarizes the importance of his published ornithological work, focusing on his discoveries of new species and on extracts from his descriptions of species' behaviour. This is the sort of information that he had planned to accompany his paintings in his proposed work on the zoology of Nepal.

Hodgson's most detailed account of a bird species describes the Bengal Florican *Houbaropsis bengalensis*, a medium-sized bustard which he called the Charj (Plate 16). He notes that he had at some cost had the birds watched closely and this is probably the only instance of him paying fieldworkers to observe birds on his behalf. His paper provided almost all knowledge on the species until recently and although some details, notably the description of the bird's courtship display, have proved to be incorrect, much of his early account has been borne out by later observations:

> Of all Indian game birds the most striking to the eye and the most grateful to the palate is the Charj . . . [it] appears to be confined to the . . . tarai. Shelter of nature's furnishing is indispensable to it, and it solely inhabits wide spreading plains sufficiently elevated to be free from inundation and sufficiently moist to yield a pretty copious crop of grasses, but not so thick, nor so high as to impede the movements or vision of a well-sized bird that is ever afoot and always sharply on the look out. Four to eight are always found in the same vicinity though seldom very close together, and the males are invariably and entirely apart from the females, after they have grown up. Even in the season of love the intercourse of the sexes among adults is quite transitory . . . when the rites of Hymen have been duly performed, the male retires to his company and the female to hers; nor is there any appearance of further or more enduring intimacy between the sexes than that just recorded, nor any evidence that the male ever lends his aid to the female in the tasks of incubation and of rearing

> young. . . . The female sits on her eggs about a month, and the young can follow her very soon after they chip the egg. In a month they are able to fly; and they remain with the mother for nearly a year, or till the procreative impulse again is felt by her, when she drives off the long since full grown young. Two females commonly breed near each other, whether for mutual aid or help. The Charj is a shy and wary bird, entirely avoiding fully peopled and fully cultivated districts, but not averse from the neighbourhood . . . of patches of cultivation, particularly of the mustard plants . . . The walk of the Charj, like that of the Heron, is firm and stately, easy and graceful: he can move afoot with much speed, and is habitually a great pedestrian, seldom using his powerful wings except to escape from danger, or to go to and from his feeding ground, at morn and eve, or to change it when he has exhausted a beat.[1]

The Ibisbill, *Ibidorhyncha struthersii*, (Plate 14), is another distinctive Nepalese bird described by Hodgson. It is a most unusual wader with a long decurved red bill which it uses to capture aquatic invertebrates in fast-flowing mountain streams and rivers. Hodgson first described the species to which he gave the attractive name of the Red-billed Erolia, in a paper he sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1829. Unfortunately his paper was temporarily lost and the first description was unfairly credited to Vigors three years later. When Hodgson's paper was eventually published in 1835, the editor wrote:

> In November 1829, Mr Hodgson sent to the Asiatic Society (presented and acknowledged, in the Proceedings of January 1830), this description, and a coloured drawing of natural size of a wader, which he called 'the red-billed erolia'. . . . But by some accident, the Erolia seems to have been omitted and mislaid, nor can it be found. . . . The bird is a great curiosity, and has been very recently made known to the public at home by Mr Gould as his discovery, although it is evident that Mr Hodgson's description and drawing were produced two years before.[2]

An equally striking wader described by Hodgson is the Great Stone Plover *Esacus recurvirostris* and he was probably the first person to find it, although the first description is attributed to Cuvier:

> This member . . . has very much of the Plover form, [and] exhibits the strength and size so conspicuous in the Storks . . . its strong, triturating gizzard, fitted with the aid of gravel to grind the crabs and other hard-shelled fish on which it feeds.[3]

Another unfortunate incident of Hodgson failing to achieve the credit he deserved for describing a new species was his discovery of the Speckled Wood

Pigeon *Columba hodgsonii*, although he is acknowledged in the bird's scientific name. He writes to the Asiatic Society of Bengal: 'The following description of a new species was originally sent to the Society six years ago, but it does not appear to have been published. It has since been described as new by the Zoological Society in 1832.'[4] Two other pigeons that Hodgson described were the Thick-billed Pigeon *Treron curvirostra*: 'rarer and more shy than the other doves . . . adheres to the forests; feeds chiefly on soft fruits' and Mountain Imperial Pigeon *Ducula badia*: 'exclusively arboreal and fruit-eating'.[5]

Hodgson had a special interest in snipes and the closely related Eurasian Woodcock *Scolopax rusticola* as they were all considered gamebirds and provided sport for the British in Kathmandu. He gives an account of the occurrence of all six species in Nepal.[6] In Hodgson's day Jack Snipe *Lymnocryptes minimus*, Common Snipe *Gallinago gallinago* and Pintail Snipe *G. stenura* were all common winter visitors and passage migrants to the Kathmandu Valley, while some Common Snipe stayed all year. Hodgson also noted two other snipe species in the Valley that were 'not uncommon in winter' which he described as new for science: Solitary Snipe *G. solitaria* and Wood Snipe *G. nemoricola*. He writes of the Solitary Snipe:

> If much alarmed he will ascend the mountain brow, and alight on a bare part of it, near the top, or scud away, with astonishing rapidity to another favourable site. His flight is exceedingly rapid and devious, like that of the common snipe.

Of the Wood Snipe he wrote: 'This most interesting species is a large, dark wood-haunting snipe. . . . Its flights are short and unwilling; and if alarmed it will quit its usual haunts upon the confines of woods . . . for adjacent thick cover.'[7]

The birds of prey also fascinated Hodgson. He collected almost all of the fifty nine species that are known in Nepal today and described eighteen of them including the Mountain Hawk Eagle *Spizaetus nipalensis* which was new to science.[8] He described it as: 'adhering exclusively to the wilds and killing their own prey, which consists of pigeons, junglefowls and partridges.' Several specimens of this raptor were collected by Hodgson over ten years, but he was puzzled by the species' considerable variability in colour and could not explain the differences in appearance with respect to sex, age and season.[9] He made interesting and accurate observations on hunting methods for some species. Of the elegant Black-winged Kite *Elanus caeruleus* he wrote:

> The Chanwa or black wing quests chiefly in the morning and evening, feeding upon small birds, insects and mice. . . . Commonly it is seen skimming the cultivation, like a *Circus* [harrier], occasionally poising itself on the wing for the purpose of getting a distincter view of some mouse, small bird or insect which has stirred on its beat and upon which, when clearly perceived, it stoops perpendicularly with the speed

> of lightning. . . . Its forward flight is easy, low and silent, but very effective in evolution when exertion is required to capture such nimble game as mice . . . It frequently whips off insects from the stalks of standing grain . . . I have also seen the Chanwa pursue cuckoos and sparrows with uncommon energy.[10]

On the Osprey *Pandion haliaetus* he noted:

> Pandion is the king of fishers, and a more beautiful instance of the adaptation of structure to habits than this genus exhibits is not to be found in the whole circle of ornithology. . . . Pandion will plunge dauntlessly into the deep, and will strike fish so large that they sometimes carry him under.[11]

He observed the Long-legged Buzzard *Buteo rufinus*:

> after harvest it comes into the open country, and is perpetually seen in the fields perched on a clod and looking out for snakes, which constitute its chief food. It also preys on rats and mice, and on quail, snipes and partridges; but is reduced to take the birds on the ground. I have seen it however, make a splendid stoop at a quail, which, after being flushed, chanced to alight on a bare spot, so as to be visible to the bird as he followed it with his eye on the wing and marked it settle. . . . ducks are frequently slain by our bird in the same way. If he can perceive them take wing, even at half a mile's distance, he is up with them with the speed of light, and is sure to capture them, unless they are under cover in a moment after they touch the earth.[12]

Hodgson collected several partridge species in Nepal including the attractive Snow Partridge *Lerwa lerwa* which he discovered for science. He wrote: 'It is found close to the permanent snows, among rocks and low brushwood, and sustains itself upon aromatic buds, leaves and small insects. They are gregarious in coveys, nestle and breed under jutting rocks.'[13] On the Common Hill Partridge *Arborophila torqueola* he observed: 'Exclusively a forester, inhabiting the interior of deep woods.'[14] The Chukar Partridge *Alectoris chukar* he describes as:

> distinguished by a strength of legs far surpassing any bird of the family . . . Habits monticolous, on elevate bare, dry, stony slopes; gregarious in large coveys. Has a very sonorous call, and the males are famous for courage and pugnacity, being most easily tamed and showing none of the shyness of the generality of partridges.[15]

He wrote a paper on the quails that he recorded in Nepal.[16] According to him the Common Quail *Coturnix coturnix*, 'has a biennial influx, synchronous

with the ripening of the great spring and autumn crops when it abounds';[17] since then the species has only been recorded once from the Valley, probably as a result of urbanization and more intensive cultivation. He found the Black-breasted Quail *Coturnix coromandelica* to be 'exceedingly rare' but 'as regular in its comings and goings as the common species';[18] there are only two later records from the Valley and none from the rest of Nepal. His account of the Jungle Bush Quail *Perdicula asiatica* is particularly interesting as the species has not been recorded in Nepal since: 'Found chiefly in the Subhimalayan valleys and their neighbourhood: migratory: much less abounding than the common.'[19]

His description of the Rufous-necked Hornbill *Aceros nipalensis* was the first of the species and is also notable as his first published ornithological paper in 1829.

> This remarkable and very large species, which I have the advantage of contemplating at leisure in a live specimen . . . has some of the graces and even terrors of the nobler birds of prey. . . . The voice of the mature bird is usually a short, hoarse croak; but when angry, or alarmed, it utters a cry not unlike a dog's bark. Its more peculiar haunts are the largest trees, especially such as are decaying, the trunks of which it perforates from the side, making its abode within upon the solid wood, and having its mansion further secreted by an ingeniously contrived door.[20]

In his paper on the Great Hornbill *Buceros bicornis* he writes an amusing account:

> This species is gregarious . . . of staid and serious manners and motions. . . . Perched on the top of some huge, fantastic Bar tree, you shall see this large, grotesque, and solemn bird sit motionless for hours, with his neck concealed between the high shoulders of his wings, and his body sunk upon his tarsi; the very type and emblem of the orient world![21]

Hodgson collected the high proportion of twenty of the twenty-five woodpecker species that have now been recorded from Nepal. He described six of these including for the first time: the tiny White-browed Piculet *Sasia ochracea*[22] and the Bay Woodpecker *Blythipicus pyrrhotis*, the latter being an inhabitant of dense broadleaved forests.[23]

He had a special interest in owls and described over half the species recorded in Nepal, [24] including three for the first time: Oriental Scops Owl *Otus sunia*,[25] Spot-bellied Eagle *Bubo nipalensis*[26] and Tawny Fish Owl *Ketupa flavipes*[27] (see Plate 12). He aptly portrays the Spot-bellied Eagle Owl:

> This remarkable bird, the largest of the family yet discovered . . . with muscular power in the legs far exceeding that of the Eagles, and with talons capable of giving that power the utmost effect in the

> destruction of life ... It tenants the interior of umbrageous woods, and by reason of the feeble light penetrating them even at noon-day, it is enabled to quest subdiurnally in such situations. It preys on pheasants, hares, rats, snakes, and sometimes on fawns.[28]

He called the closely related Eurasian Eagle Owl *Bubo bubo* the Hole-haunting Owl, as its 'habitation is sometimes in a hole or burrow in a bank side (in which they always breed)'. It hunts, 'commencing operations long after dark, and by carrying them on in the open country'.[29]

The Drongo Cuckoo *Surniculus lugubris* was the only cuckoo that Hodgson described and as he correctly surmized, it was new for science. In an introduction to his paper he writes with some sarcasm to the editor of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, expressing his disillusion:

> Amongst the numerous new birds forwarded by me to London some years back, when I was young enough to imagine that learned Societies existed solely for the disinterested promotion of science, was a very singular form combining all the essential internal and external characters of Cuculus with the entire aspect of *Dicrurus*.[30]

Only three of the eleven swifts recorded in Nepal to date were found by Hodgson, presumably because these fast-flying aerial birds were too difficult to catch. Of the House Swift *Apus affinis* he wrote: 'the common swift of the central region, where it remains all the year, building under thatched roofs, and against the beams of flat roofs. It lays two eggs and breeds repeatedly.'[31] The origin of his collection of the Dark-rumped Swift *Apus acuticauda* is an enigma. It was first described from a Hodgson specimen by Jerdon,[32] but was not mentioned in his papers nor listed by the Grays in their catalogues of his specimens. The species has never been recorded from Nepal since and is restricted to eastern Bhutan and from the Khasi and Mizo Hills in north-east India.[33]

His paper on the Blue-bearded Bee-eater *Nyctyornis athertoni* includes an interesting account:

> it seeks the deep recesses of the forest, – and there, tranquilly seated on a high tree, to watch the casual advent of its prey, and, having seized it, to return directly to its station. ... These birds feed principally on bees and their congeners ... They are of dull staid manners ... In the Raja's shooting excursions they are frequently taken alive by the clamorous multitude of sportsmen, some two or more of whom single out a bird and presently make him captive, disconcerted as he is by the noise.[34]

The large majority of Hodgson's ornithological discoveries were of passerines (perching birds). These include the striking terrestrial Blue-naped Pitta *Pitta nipalensis*[35] which frequents moist subtropical evergreen forests and the

Black-winged Cuckoo shrike *Coracina melaschistos*,[36] a summer visitor to the woods of the Kathmandu Valley. Unfortunately the rewards of his studies eluded him once again when his first description of Silver-breasted Broadbill *Serilophus lunatus* was lost and Gould was given the credit. The editor of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* writes in the introduction to Hodgson's paper: 'This and the following paper were transmitted to the late Editor more than two and a half years back, and were acknowledged at the time, but by some accident afterwards mislaid.'[37]

Hodgson made an extensive collection of thirty of Nepal's shrikes and crows, acquiring almost all the species on the country's list. He makes an apt description of shrikes' habits:

> Food, all sort of hard and soft, flying and creeping, insects, and their larvae and pupae; also snails, lizards, feeble birds, mice, and almost any living thing the bird can master. Has its perch on the upper and barer branches of trees and bushes, where it descends to seize its prey on the ground: sometimes picks it from foliage, but very seldom seizes on the wing. Has a harsh voice like the kestril's, and is perpetually vociferating from its perch. Bold and daring in its manners, and is easily caught by any insect bait.[38]

He was the first person to describe the Crow-billed Drongo *Dicrurus annectans* although he made no comment on its habits other than it was a forest-haunting bird.[39] The closely related Black Drongo *D. macrocercus* was however well known to him:

> It is very common in the valley of Nipal; is familiar with man; and seems to love the neighbourhood of country houses. . . . Commonly it makes short jerking parabolic flights from and to a bare tree whereon it sits watching for insects and thence darts to catch them on the wing. It is very bold, frequently pursuing Crows and Kites, that come near its perch – and such is the rapidity of its flight that it can overtake the Kite when he uses his best efforts to outfly it . . . It is very vivacious, darting about all day, and all night too, when the moon shines. It seems to love dawn, twilight and moonlight; and at such times especially continually utters (one bird responsively to another) its agreeable whistling note.[40]

Another of his comprehensive collections was that of the thrush family. He obtained fifty-three species including eight that were new to science: Indian Blue Robin *Luscinia brunnea*,[41] Golden Bush Robin *Tarsiger chrysaeus*,[42] White-tailed Robin *Myiomela leucura*,[43] Grandala *Grandala coelicolor*,[44] Purple Cochoa *Cochoa purpurea* (see Plate 21) and Green Cochoa *C. viridis*,[45] Black-backed Forktail *Enicurus immaculatus* and Slaty-backed Forktail *E. schistaceus*.[46]

Of the lovely Golden Robin he writes: 'Exclusively monticolous; dwells in low brushwood solitarily, and is much on the ground, feeding chiefly on small ground insects. Makes its nest on the ground, saucer-shape, of moss, and places it under cover of some projecting root or stone; eggs verditer.'[47] The Grandala is: 'A singular bird having the general structure of a thrush but with the wings vastly augmented in size and the bill of a Sylvie.' It inhabits 'the northern region or *Cachar* in under spots near snow' and 'the male is noted for his striking purple-blue plumage'.[48] On the two Cochoas, he notes: 'They are shy in their manners, adhere exclusively to the woods . . . the foresters whom I have met with, denominate them Cocho.'[49] The Asian Magpie Robin *Copyschus saularis* was a very familiar bird to Hodgson and even today it is common in Kathmandu:

> they are nowhere so common as in gardens and on lawns, which they enliven in spring by their song, and at all times, by their vivacity and familiarity . . . are perpetually in motion, and raise and depress the body with flirtation of the tail, exactly in the wagtail manner.[50]

Hodgson collected virtually all of the twenty-six flycatcher species that have been recorded from Nepal, although he wrote very little about their habits, presumably because many of these species are small and difficult to observe in the field without the optical aids that we use today. He wrote original descriptions of five flycatchers: Rufous-bellied Niltava *Niltava sundara*,[51] Ferruginous Flycatcher *Muscicapa ferruginea*,[52] Slaty-blue Flycatcher *Ficedula tricolor*,[53] White-gorgeted Flycatcher *Ficedula monileger*,[54] and Rufous-gorgeted Flycatcher *F. strophiata*.[55]

Another first for Hodgson was the splendid Sultan Tit *Melanochlora sultanea*, coloured all black and yellow (see Plate 15). He observed: 'Explores foliage, feeding upon the softer arboreal insects. . . . Exceedingly fond of caterpillars. Occasionally takes pulpy berries.'[56]

Over half of Nepal's warblers were described by Hodgson. It was quite an achievement for his trappers to collect these small, fast-moving birds. Classifying them must have been a real challenge for Hodgson; this difficult group still poses problems for ornithologists today. He named eight warblers for the first time[57] including the tiny Grey-bellied Tesia *Tesia cyaniventer* of which he wrote: 'These singular birds are peculiar to the mountains, and dwell in moist woods where there is plenty of underwood.'[58] Another first was the Striated Prinia *Prinia criniger* which he gives the Nepalese name of the Suya. He writes: 'Of the Suya the favourite site is those upland downs which are scattered with brushwood. Owing to the feebleness of their wings, they need the shelter of low trees and shrubs.'[59]

The other warblers attributed to Hodgson are: Brown-flanked Bush Warbler *Cettia fortipes*, Aberrant Bush Warbler *C. flavolivacea*, Grey-sided Bush Warbler *C. brunnifrons*, Brown Bush Warbler *Bradypterus luteoventris* and Smoky Warbler *Phylloscopus fuligiventer*, all skulking species that inhabit

undergrowth and bushes and breed at high altitudes, and the delightful Chestnut-crowned Warbler *Seicercus castaniceps*, a lively inhabitant of Nepal's broadleaved forests.

Hodgson's greatest contribution to bird taxonomy was his study of the babblers *Timaliidae*, a family characteristic of Himalayan forests. His collection totalled seventy-one species of which twenty-eight were new[60] while another ten species were first described by Blyth, the Grays, Gould and Moore from Hodgson's specimens. He writes an apt description of the large genus of babblers, *Garrulax*:

> gregarious, noisy and alert. They frequent the deep and dank forests and groves exclusively, procure the greater part of their food on the ground; use the trees for security when disturbed, for nidification, and for occasionally eking out their repasts with berries, pulpy fruits or caterpillars; and are, for the most part, incapable of a sustained flight. . . . In all situations woodlands are indispensable to them, both for food and shelter; especially the latter, their retreat being a mere succession of hops from tree to tree, after the manner of the Magpies. . . . Many of the species are caged and tame with facility; and they are often turned loose into walled gardens; whence they seldom attempt to escape, if there be a considerable number of trees, and where they are of great service in destroying pupae, larvae and perfect insects, especially those which are generated or feed in manure.[61]

On the habits of the *Yuhina* genus he wrote: 'little birds . . . adhere exclusively to the wild uplands; prefer the lower and more umbrageous to the higher and barer trees . . . usually found in small flocks; and have a monotonous feeble monosyllabic note'.[62] The *Stachyris* babblers are:

> arboreal . . . shy of man . . . feeding on tiny insects, larvae, and pupae. They build large globular nests, which are fixed upon and between the crossing twigs of thick low bushes, and lay four or five eggs of a pale fawn colour, either unmarked or spotted with brown.[63]

Other firsts for Hodgson were four attractive nectar feeders: Green-tailed Sunbird *Aethopyga nipalensis*, Black-throated Sunbird *A. saturata*, Fire-tailed Sunbird *A. ignicauda* and Streaked Spiderhunter *Arachnothera magna*.[64] Hodgson only wrote on one pipit, Upland Pipit *Anthus sylvanus* and provided the first description as well as the following account of its behaviour: 'Exclusively monticolous, found in the brushy uplands of the central region; feeds and breeds on the ground. Nest made loosely of grass and saucer-shaped; eggs bluish, thickly spotted.'[65] Of the accentors, he writes: 'These birds are much on the ground and have an ambulatory structure of legs and feet. They are found in the central and northern regions only, and chiefly in

the northern.' Hodgson provides the original description of the Maroon-backed Accentor *Prunella immaculata*, probably the most beautiful of the genus.[66]

Finally in this account of Hodgson's original descriptions, there are eight finches including some of the most spectacular in the family: Plain Mountain Finch *Leucosticte nemoricola*, Dark-breasted Rosefinch *Carpodacus nipalensis*, Crimson-browed Finch *Propyrrhula subhimachala*, Scarlet Finch *Haematospiza sipahi*, Gold-naped Finch *Pyrrhoplectes epauletta*, Brown Bullfinch *Pyrrhula nipalensis*, Spot-winged Grosbeak *Mycerobas melanozanthos* (see Plate 19) and White-winged Grosbeak *M. carnipes*.[67]

Hodgson was also distinguished as the first scientific collector of birds from Tibet and wrote the first scientific paper on Tibetan birds. This included the first description of the splendid White-eared Pheasant *Crossoptilon crossoptilon* which was presented to Hodgson in Kathmandu by the Nepalese envoy to Peking.[68] Hodgson's last published ornithological paper names another gamebird, the Tibetan Partridge *Perdix hodgsoniae* (see Plate 18) which was given to him as a live bird in Kathmandu by General Jung Bahadur, later to become Nepal's Prime Minister. In his paper Hodgson writes: 'I take the liberty of dedicating this handsome species to Mrs Hodgson [his English wife].'[69] Hodgson's small Tibetan collection also comprised another gamebird, Himalayan Snowcock *Tetraogallus himalayensis* and three members of the crow family: Common Magpie *Pica pica*, Eurasian Nutcracker *Nucifraga caryocatactes*, and Common Raven *Corvus corax*. All of Hodgson's Tibetan birds came from Utsang province which lay in south-east Tibet, just north of Sikkim.[70] There are also two spectacular pheasants: Lady Amherst's Pheasant *Chrysolophus amherstiae* and Golden Pheasant *C. pictus* but the origin of both birds is uncertain, and the latter does not occur in Tibet.

The Kathmandu Valley (*c.*1,280m) and encircling hills was the only place in Nepal that Hodgson was able to record birds, other than en route from India to Nepal's capital. The notes on the back of his paintings provide much detail on his observations, but it is a pity he did not publish any of this material. One exception however was his paper on bird migration through the Valley.[71] This paper is notable as the first work on the migration of birds across the Himalayas and remained the only published work on migration in Nepal for over 100 years. The gigantic Himalayan range is a major barrier to bird migration and most birds skirt the mountains. Some birds do however cross the Himalayas so shortening their journey considerably. Staging posts where they can gain energy by resting and feeding for a few days are invaluable to migrating birds. Hodgson's observations illustrate that the Kathmandu Valley was an important staging post in the migration of wetland birds in his time. As a result of drainage of the numerous marshes and streams on the Valley floor and the spread of cultivation and urbanization, the variety and numbers of wetland birds are much reduced today.

He divided the migrants into two groups: Natatores (wildfowl, gulls and terns) and Grallatores (cranes, herons, storks, waders and rails). According to Hodgson:

> birds begin to arrive from the north towards the close of August. The first to appear are the Common Snipe, Jack Snipe and Rhynchoea (Painted Snipe *Rostratula benghalensis*); next the Scolopaceous waders (except the Woodcock), next the great birds of the heron, stork and crane families; then the Natatores; and lastly the Woodcock, which does not reach us until November. The time of reappearance of these birds from the South is the beginning of March; and they go on arriving until the middle of May. The first which thus return to us are the snipes, then come the teal and ducks; then the Natatores; and lastly the great cranes and storks.

He noted the Grallatores were much more numerous than the Natatores, reflecting their greater abundance in the Indian plains. Most wildfowl only stayed short periods, a few days in spring and one or two weeks in autumn when the rice fields attracted them. It is interesting that Hodgson recorded at least fifteen species from these groups that have not been recorded since from the Kathmandu Valley. These include a Whooper Swan *Cygnus cygnus* which Hodgson found in 1828; an extraordinary record and the only swan that he ever recorded in Nepal; the species is a vagrant to the Indian subcontinent today. Another very unusual record and the only one for Nepal was a Pink-headed Duck *Rhodonessa caryophyllacea* that he collected on 15 September (year unknown); this species is now thought to be extinct. Hodgson recorded some other most unusual birds in the Kathmandu Valley, including Spot-billed Pelican *Pelecanus philippensis*, Greater Flamingo *Phoenicopterus ruber*, Glossy Ibis *Plegadis falcinellus*, the storks Greater Adjutant *Leptoptilos dubius* and Lesser Adjutant *L. javanicus*, that are all considered lowland species today; also Eurasian Oystercatcher *Haematopus ostralegus* which is almost always found on coasts.

Appendix

Bird species discovered by Hodgson

Mountain Hawk Eagle *Spizaetus nipalensis*
Snow Partridge *Lerwa lerwa*
Tibetan Partridge *Perdix hodgsoniae*
White Eared Pheasant *Crossoptilon crossoptilon*
Solitary Snipe *Gallinago solitaria*
Wood Snipe *Gallinago nemoricola*
Oriental Scops Owl *Otus sunia*
Spot-bellied Eagle Owl *Bubo nipalensis*
Tawny Fish Owl *Ketupa flavipes*
Rufous-necked Hornbill *Aceros nipalensis*
White-browed Piculet *Sasia ochracea*
Bay Woodpecker *Blythipicus pyrrhotis*

Blue-naped Pitta *Pitta nipalensis*
Upland Pipit *Anthus sylvanus*
Black-winged Cuckoo shrike *Coracina melaschistos*
Maroon-backed Accentor *Prunella immaculata*
Indian Blue Robin *Luscinia brunnea*
Golden Bush Robin *Tarsiger chrysaeus*
White-tailed Robin *Myiomela leucura*
Grandala *Grandala coelicolor*
Purple Cochoa *Cochoa purpurea*
Green Cochoa *Cochoa viridis*
Black-backed Forktail *Enicurus immaculatus*
Slaty-backed Forktail *Enicurus schistaceus*
Grey-bellied Tesia *Tesia cyaniventer*
Brown-flanked Bush Warbler *Cettia fortipes*
Aberrant Bush Warbler *Cettia flavolivacea*
Grey-sided Bush Warbler *Cettia brunnifrons*
Brown Bush Warbler *Bradypterus luteoventris*
Chestnut-crowned Warbler *Seicercus castaniceps*
Smoky Warbler *Phylloscopus fuligiventer*
Rufous-bellied Niltava *Niltava sundara*
Ferruginous Flycatcher *Muscicapa ferruginea*
Slaty-blue Flycatcher *Ficedula tricolor*
White-gorgeted Flycatcher *Ficedula monileger*
Rufous-gorgeted Flycatcher *Ficedula strophiata*
White-browed Scimitar Babbler *Pomatorhinus schisticeps*
Streak-breasted Scimitar Babbler *Pomatorhinus ruficollis*
Scaly-breasted Wren Babbler *Pnoepyga albiventer*
Pygmy Wren Babbler *Pnoepyga pusilla*
Great Parrotbill *Conostoma oemodium*
Brown Parrotbill *Paradoxornis unicolor*
Fulvous Parrotbill *Paradoxornis fulvifrons*
Black-throated Parrotbill *Paradoxornis nipalensis*
White-throated Laughingthrush *Garrulax albogularis*
Lesser Necklaced Laughingthrush *Garrulax monileger*
Greater Necklaced Laughingthrush *Garrulax pectoralis*
Grey-sided Laughingthrush *Garrulax caerulatus*
Silver-eared Mesia *Leiothrix argentauris*
Cutia *Cutia nipalensis*
Black-eared Shrike Babbler *Pteruthius melanotis*
Hoary-throated Barwing *Actinodura nipalensis*
Blue-winged Minla *Minla cyanouroptera*
Chestnut-tailed Minla *Minla strigula*
Red-tailed Minla *Minla ignotincta*
Rufous-winged Fulvetta *Alcippe castaneceps*
White-browed Fulvetta *Alcippe vinipectus*

Nepal Fulvetta *Alcippe nipalensis*
Long-tailed Sibia *Heterophasia picaoides*
Whiskered Yuhina *Yuhina flavicollis*
Stripe-throated Yuhina *Yuhina gularis*
Rufous-vented Yuhina *Yuhina occipitalis*
Black-chinned Yuhina *Yuhina nigrimenta*
White-bellied Yuhina *Yuhina zantholeuca*
Sultan Tit *Melanochlora sultanea*
Green-tailed Sunbird *Aethopyga nipalensis*
Black-throated Sunbird *Aethopyga saturata*
Fire-tailed Sunbird *Aethopyga ignicauda*
Streaked Spiderhunter *Arachnothera magna*
Crow-billed Drongo *Dicrurus annectans*
Plain Mountain Finch *Leucosticte nemoricola*
Dark-breasted Rosefinch *Carpodacus nipalensis*
Crimson-browed Finch *Propyrrhula subhimachala*
Scarlet Finch *Haematospiza sipahi*
Gold-naped Finch *Pyrrhoplectes epauletta*
Brown Bullfinch *Pyrrhula nipalensis*
Spot-winged Grosbeak *Mycerobas melanozanthos*
White-winged Grosbeak *Mycerobas carnipes*

Taxonomy and nomenclature follows *An Annotated Checklist of the Birds of the Oriental Region* by Tim Inskipp, Nigel Lindsey and William Duckworth, Sandy: Oriental Bird Club, 1996.

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9

HODGSON, HOOKER AND THE HIMALAYAN FRONTIER, 1848–1850

David Arnold

In mid-April 1848, when many minds in Europe were fixed on revolution, the botanist Joseph Dalton Hooker, friend of Charles Darwin and son of Sir William Hooker, Director of Kew Gardens in London, arrived at the quiet hill-station of Darjeeling, on the frontier between British India and Sikkim. Thus began a close and lasting association between Hooker and Brian Houghton Hodgson, the former British Resident in Nepal, that endured until the latter's death in May 1894, though it never quite regained the intimacy and mutual confidence that characterized their time together in Darjeeling. Between early June 1848, when Hooker first accepted Hodgson's pressing invitation to stay with him at Brianstone, with its commanding views of Kangchenjunga and the 'grandest . . . landscape of snowy mountains in the Himalaya, and hence in the world',[1] and Hooker's final departure from Darjeeling in May 1850, he returned to the bungalow several times from his botanical expeditions into Nepal, Sikkim and Tibet. In all he stayed some ten months as Hodgson's house guest and intellectual companion. Their relationship, personal and scientific, was of great significance to both men, but in many ways it was a strange and surprising friendship.

The 'complete Himalayan naturalist'

In 1848 Hodgson was, by seventeen years, the older man, and already at the age of forty-eight could look back on thirty years as an administrator and scholar in India and Nepal. The son of a 'broken gentleman' ruined by bankruptcy, Hodgson spent two years at Haileybury before joining the East India Company's service in 1818. After a brief spell in Kumaon, he was sent in 1820 to Kathmandu, where he became the Acting Resident in 1829 and then Resident in 1833. During this time, as well as having the leisure to pursue his burgeoning interest in Buddhism and natural history, he played an active role in the court politics and diplomacy of Nepal. But in 1843 he was dismissed

from the Residency by the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, who was eager to assert his own authority over Anglo-Nepalese relations and to curb the independent tendencies of political agents like Hodgson, whom he once disparagingly called an 'ornithological humbug'.[2] Within two years Hodgson was back in his beloved hills and mountains. Denied a position in Nepal, he settled instead at Darjeeling (which had been taken into British hands ten years earlier) and from 1845 to 1858 lived as a semi-exile, a 'recluse' and a 'private student' (albeit on a substantial pension of £1,000 a year), pursuing his scholarly interest in the zoology and ethnography of the Himalayan region. Despite years of frustration, he still hoped to complete and publish an illustrated and uniquely authoritative account of the birds and mammals of Nepal.[3]

Though clearly an accomplished Orientalist and widely known in India (and to a lesser extent in Europe) as the leading authority on the natural history of the Himalayas, Hodgson was essentially a self-taught naturalist. In an age in which professional scientists were only gradually emerging from the chrysalis ranks of gentleman amateurs, this was by no means exceptional. But Hodgson had received no formal scientific training at all, not even the medical education which was the principal route by which many East India Company surgeons in his day became botanists and geologists, whether in a private, leisure-time capacity or in the scientific service of the Company.[4] Instead his long sojourn in Kathmandu, his appetite for hunting and collecting animals and birds, and his prolonged contact with the inhabitants of Nepal and later Darjeeling, provided the surrogate for a more formal apprenticeship. His time at the Residency had given him a unique 'store' of locally acquired information that needed, he believed, only the specialist guidance and material support of metropolitan science to attain its full worth.[5] Despite his often acerbic response to critics, Hodgson freely acknowledged the limits of his scientific background. An article he published in 1833, announcing the discovery of a new species of Indian hornbill, closed with the characteristic disclaimer that, 'having no extensive or scientific knowledge of Ornithology, I have been obliged to rely for the materials of the above description upon untutored eyes and ears, sedulously employed and assisted by careful reference to Shaw's *Zoology*'.[6] By the time Hooker joined him in Darjeeling in the spring of 1848 he had already published more than 100 articles, mainly in Calcutta in *Asiatic Researches*, *Gleanings in Science* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, on the birds and quadrupeds of Nepal and adjoining regions and had sent hundreds of specimens and drawings to the British Museum in London. In 1835, still in his mid-thirties, he was elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society and by 1848 had been made a corresponding or honorary fellow of several other leading British and Continental naturalist societies,[7] and yet he still sought in vain the active support of metropolitan science.

By contrast, Joseph Hooker (born in 1817, seventeen years after Hodgson) and the second son of Sir William Hooker (whom Joseph succeeded as Director of Kew Gardens in 1865), 'did not so much learn botany as grow up in it'.[8] Having a father who ranked as Britain's pre-eminent botanist and enjoyed an

extensive network of contacts among naturalists around the globe, as well as a degree of royal and aristocratic patronage, undoubtedly gave Joseph a privileged entrée into both metropolitan and colonial scientific circles. Brought up in Glasgow, where his father held a chair in botany before moving to Kew in 1840, Hooker trained as a surgeon, received his MD, and from 1839 to 1843 took part in a major scientific expedition to the Antarctic, Tasmania and New Zealand under Sir James Ross, in which he served as both an assistant surgeon and the onboard naturalist. He had already published the first weighty volumes of his Antarctic flora before leaving for India in November 1847. With a growing international reputation of his own, Hooker was by then already corresponding with Baron Alexander von Humboldt, still in the 1840s one of the greatest naturalists of the age, and in 1843 had been befriended by Charles Darwin, who had begun to reveal to him the dark secrets of evolution and natural selection.[9]

After his exhaustive investigation of Antarctic and southern temperate botany and keen to advance a scientific career that even his father could not guarantee, Hooker sought to emulate the example of Humboldt and Darwin by voyaging to the tropics, studying the flora and the mountain vegetation of the equinoctial zone, and writing an account of his scientific travels. Although his planned itinerary changed many times, his consistent aim was to reach and explore the snowy borderland that divided India from the almost inaccessible Tibet. His plan to visit Sikkim and north-eastern India was influentially supported not only by Humboldt,[10] but also by Lord Auckland, a former Governor-General of India and currently First Lord of the Admiralty, whom he had come to know through Ross's Antarctic expedition. Since Auckland's successor in India, Lord Ellenborough had sought to undermine 'all the good Ld. Auckland had previously done', and had also been the cause of Hodgson's summary ejection from Kathmandu, Hooker and Hodgson shared a warm admiration for the one and a keen loathing for the other.[11] Of more immediate significance, Lord Auckland's nephew, Sir James Colvile, was a friend of Hodgson's, as well as Advocate-General of Bengal and current President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was apparently he who introduced Hooker to Hodgson.[12]

Despite being new to the country, Hooker also had a number of other friends and contacts in India, not least among the medical servants of the Company. These included his fellow botanist and Glasgow school-friend Thomas Thomson (also a pupil of Sir William Hooker's), who participated in a scientific expedition to western Tibet in 1847 to 1848 and in 1850 joined Joseph Hooker botanizing in the Khasi Hills in Assam, and Hugh Falconer, another Company surgeon, who had made his name as co-discoverer of the celebrated Siwalik fossils in north India in the 1830s and who had returned to India (somewhat reluctantly after being so lionized in London) as Superintendent of Calcutta's Botanic Garden and Professor of Botany at the city's Medical College. Hooker also knew, and regarded as 'my excellent friend', the Danish-born Nathaniel Wallich, who after the departure of William

Roxburgh in 1814 had become India's leading botanist. Having collected extensively in Nepal (where he had, of course, known Hodgson) and elsewhere in the subcontinent, in 1828 Wallich brought to London an enormous collection, thirty large crates' worth, of Indian and Himalayan plants, which the Hookers examined and helped distribute via Kew.[13] To add to his already considerable political and professional assets, Hooker travelled out to India in 1847 to 1848 in the entourage of the new Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, was a frequent guest at Government House in Calcutta, and sought to enlist his Lordship's official support for his projected expedition to investigate the botany of Sikkim. Wallich's herbarium and Falconer's fossils helped give India a significant place in the annals of early Victorian science, while Hodgson, by contrast, felt bitterly that his great contribution to natural history was being ignored and that he had not received the recognition his labours deserved.[14]

Even though Hodgson had a well-established reputation for being difficult and quarrelsome, he and Hooker seemed to hit it off almost from the start. In late May 1848, after his first excursion from Darjeeling to Tonglo, Hooker wrote to his fiancée, Frances Henslow, to describe to her a typical day. He rose, he reported, at 5.30:

> & walked to the house of Mr Hodgson, a great naturalist, who is ill & nervous to such a degree that he fancies the Darjeeling doctors want to kill him, & he will have no other medical attendant than myself, or Dr Campbell. Mr Hodgson lives two miles from here [Hooker was currently staying with Charles Barnes, the brother of an earlier acquaintance], along a pretty road with scattered neat cottages on each side. On the right are steep, wooded banks & rocks, on the left a valley 5000 ft deep, range after range of snowy mountains rising beyond . . . I found Mr Hodgson in his garden, talking Tibetan to a Chinese-looking man, whom he was questioning about the geography of Central Asia . . . He has kindly prepared rooms in his house for me, but, while Mr Barnes remains at Darjeeling, I am bound to continue with him.[15]

Hooker, who moved in with Hodgson soon after, described his host as a:

> particularly gentlemanly and agreeable person, but he looks sickly; he is handsome, with a grand forehead and delicate, finely-cut features; when arrayed in his furs and wearing the Scotch bonnet and eagle feather with which it is his pleasure to adorn himself, he would make a striking picture. He is a clever person and can be wickedly sarcastic.[16]

Hooker, who was having difficulty funding his ambitious excursions into the mountains and who (to his great chagrin) could count on no financial assistance from the East India Company, found in Hodgson 'a miracle of

liberality'.[17] In August 1849 he wrote to his mother that his friend would not allow him to pay for anything, and as he was 'very well off & has a great larder & garden, I do not hesitate to receive as freely as he gives generously'.[18] Earlier that year Hooker tried to amuse Miss Henslow with an account of the nature and extent of the Hodgson establishment at Brianstone: there were three personal servants (to look after their master, keep his clothes and attend in the rooms), three table servants (including 'a sort of butler . . . who cheats Mr Hodgson right and left'), an incompetent (male) housekeeper, plus innumerable kitchen servants, sweepers and messengers; four men to look after Hodgson's two ponies, two men to look after his four dogs, three 'shooters', two 'birdstuffers and skinners', two artists, one 'English writer' ('whose English only a native can read & nobody can understand'), one 'learned Pundit' (versed in Hindustani and Persian), several gardeners (who 'dig, sow, plant and build' but produced almost nothing) and a 'whole village' of coolies – all employed on the equivalent of eight to fifty shillings a month. They all ate, drank, and smoked at their employer's expense, and they salaamed endlessly, which seemed to Hooker to be their principal duty.[19]

When his *Himalayan Journals* appeared in 1854, Hooker paid handsome tribute to Hodgson, not only for his personal generosity but also for his 'high position as a man of science' who had 'unveiled the mysteries of the Boodhist religion, chronicled the affinities, languages, customs, and faiths of the Himalayan tribes' as well as having 'completed a natural history of the animals and birds' of the region. 'His collections of specimens are immense, and are illustrated by drawings and descriptions taken from life, with remarks on the anatomy, habits and localities of the animals themselves.' Twenty volumes of the Asiatic Society's *Journal* and its museum in Calcutta 'teem with the proof of his indefatigable zeal', and through the 'cabinets of the bird and quadruped departments' of the British Museum, 'Mr Hodgson's name stands pre-eminent'. 'To be welcomed to the Himalaya by such a person', Hooker enthused, 'and to be allowed the most unreserved intercourse, and the advantage of all his information and library, exercised a material influence on the progress I made in my studies, and on my travels'.[20]

This was no less than the truth. Before he arrived in India, Hooker knew practically nothing of Buddhism or the zoology and ethnography of the Himalayas; extended contact with Hodgson enabled him to appear far more knowledgeable than he actually was on these subjects and to embellish his botanical observations with authoritative statements about the natural history, religion and society of the northeast Himalayas. As an Orientalist as well as a naturalist, Hodgson was singularly well placed to help Hooker. He sensibly pooh-poohed Hooker's ill-informed idea that because there were superficial similarities between Buddhist and Roman Catholic rituals, that the Lamaism of Sikkim must have been influenced by Nestorian Christians or by the Jesuits.[21] When they travelled together in the tarai in March 1849, Hodgson not only took pains to point out birds and animals to his zoologically challenged companion but also pencilled into Hooker's journal annotated lists of what

they had seen.[22] At other times he fed Hooker more Sanskrit and vernacular vocabulary than he could possibly absorb, though some of it eventually found its way, unacknowledged, into the *Himalayan Journals*. As late as September 1849, after almost eighteen months in the hills, Hooker confessed that his Hindustani was 'notoriously bad' and that he had only 'a smattering' of Bhotia and Tibetan. 'It is true', he added in a letter to his father, 'that this ignorance of languages does not stand in the way of Botany; but in every other respect it is a fearful drawback.'[23] Hodgson and others (including Thomson) obligingly supplied some of that linguistic deficiency for him. It was, above all, Hodgson (drawing upon his own conviction of how invaluable local expertise was to metropolitan science) who impressed upon Hooker, who had originally planned to spend only two or three months in Darjeeling, the importance of remaining long enough in one part of the subcontinent to get to know its natural history well. As Hooker put it to his father in February 1849: 'Hodgson dwells strongly on the simple fact that it is better to explore one district well than to wander.'[24]

There was, however, a strongly reciprocal element in the Hooker-Hodgson relationship. Hooker genuinely respected the accumulated local knowledge of his fellow naturalist, his powers of observation and his formidable collections. Hodgson, he informed Darwin in October 1848, was 'so complete a Himalayan Naturalist' that he felt it necessary to pay 'little other attention to Zoology than bottling beetles & applying to my host for information on all other branches'.[25] He was aware (even perhaps gratified) that Hodgson's interests did not extend very far into botany and that they both were relative novices when it came to geology and meteorology. He appreciated, too, that however highly regarded Hodgson's science might be in India (and despite the hundreds of specimens and drawings he had already sent to the Zoological Society and British Museum in London) he was still in many respects on the margins of the British and international scientific establishment, a remarkable collector and recorder perhaps but not a theorizer, a synthesizer or an original scientific mind. Darwin had 'long been familiar with his name',[26] but the kinds of Indian journals Hodgson published in were often hard to come by in Britain and the denizen of Down House had not apparently read any of his articles before Hooker induced him to do so in 1848 to 1849 (but then Hodgson had not read Darwin's seminal account of the voyage of *The Beagle* until Hooker got him to do so). When Darwin wrote to Hodgson, at Hooker's earnest request, the 'hermit of Darjeeling' was 'in great glee'. Hooker explained to Darwin, with more apparent condescension than he probably intended, 'really you little know how prized a valuable scientific correspondent in England is, to the jungle fowl in India', adding, as if in recompense, that 'the lazyness [*sic*] of English naturalists in this respect, is one of the greatest sins and detriments to the furtherance of science'.[27] Through Hooker, Hodgson also began correspondence with Humboldt about a possible volume on the geography of the Himalayas (which never in fact materialized). For years Hodgson had been asking to be put into 'effectual communication' with one

of the 'real "ministers & interpreters of nature"';[28] perhaps at last in, or through, Hooker that cherished goal had been realized.

But there was clearly more to their relationship than professional reciprocity or discreet opportunism. Hooker, still a bachelor, felt relaxed in Hodgson's company and at ease in his hospitable household. If he was aware that Hodgson could be 'haughty, proud and ambitious', he also believed, as he informed his father in August 1849, that 'I shall always regard [him] as one of my dearest friends on earth'.[29] Shortly after departing from Darjeeling in October 1848, Hooker told 'My dear H' how badly he already missed his company.[30] He began a daily journal, which was entrusted to Hodgson's safekeeping for Hooker to reclaim later, but which (delivered to Brianstone in instalments by coolies along with baskets full of roots, seeds and plant specimens) was an effective means of keeping in close touch. When they met up again, the following February at Titalya in the plains, Hooker was delighted to receive 'the affectionate welcome I was long anticipating from Hodgson': 'we all but hugged and retired to the bungalow for an excellent chat.'[31] On returning to Darjeeling at the end of March 1849, after nearly six months of arduous travel, 'wandering from the frigid to the torrid zone', Hooker eagerly looked forward to being 'comfortably housed' again 'with my friend & his books, & my plants'. He anticipated 'a repetition of the quiet happy months I spent last rains' and already felt 'the full charm of being at home once more'.[32]

As we saw earlier in his letter to Frances Henslow in May 1848, Hooker was one of the few people to take seriously Hodgson's 'very indifferent health' and the periodic bouts of incapacitating illness and depression that prevented him from joining Hooker on any of his hill-country expeditions. As a doctor, Hooker made some efforts to treat 'with a little medical advice' his friend's persistent illness (which was identified as a liver complaint but may have been due to complications arising from the malaria or dysentery Hodgson contracted soon after his arrival in India).[33] Since Hooker was also fearful of the torrid plains and their fatal diseases, they shared a common concern about health and only ventured down to the notoriously malarial Tarai at a time of year when it was believed to be fever-free. (In fact, both men comfortably outlasted their time in India, each living, by a happy coincidence, into his ninety-fourth year.) For his part Hodgson treated 'dear Joe' like a younger brother, or even a son, writing on more than one occasion to tell Sir William and Lady Hooker how well their 'boy' was doing, asking them not to worry when he was away botanizing in distant jungle or on remote Himalayan passes, and praising his 'zeal, industry, energy, . . . steady head & . . . affectionate disposition'. He even wrote to Sir William once for little better reason than to let him know 'how I love and esteem your son'.[34]

Science on the Himalayan frontier

Despite their very different backgrounds and perspectives – Hooker the 'griffin', new to India and the Himalayas, initially ignorant of the region's languages

and cultures, but the peripatetic representative of professionalizing science in Britain, Hodgson the experienced India-hand, the accomplished Orientalist and self-taught naturalist, well-grounded in Himalayan languages and ethnography – the two shared a number of interests and ambitions that say much about the complementary and interdependent nature of metropolitan and colonial science. At the core of this was what Hodgson termed their mutual interest in the 'organic distribution' of plants, animals and other livings things.[35]

In part this reflected the scientific agenda drawn up by Humboldt decades before in trying to determine which factors (such as climate, geology and topography but also human activity) affected the biogeographical distribution of species and thus to build a comprehensive and integrated understanding of landscape and lived environments. The great German naturalist had first explored this interconnected understanding of 'nature' in his observations on South and Central America and the Andes but it had found its eager emulators among naturalists in South Asia, such as J.F. Royle in the 1830s, who saw in the Himalayas many features that extended or qualified Humboldt's own work.[36] Hooker and Hodgson saw a mutual interest in combing their scientific knowledge and skills not just to create a systematic biogeography of the eastern Himalayas but also to try to create an integrated understanding of how natural history – progressing from geology, through meteorology and botany to zoology – could be combined with an ethnography that embraced racial origins and characteristics, history, material culture, language, religious beliefs and social mores.[37]

Hodgson, self-taught and largely detached from current metropolitan scientific debates, was perhaps not naturally disposed to try to convert his wealth of specific information into a grander synthesis of this kind. But, with Hooker's encouragement, his expertise could make a major contribution. In a letter to Darwin, Hooker described their joint efforts to create (after the manner of Humboldt's biogeographical depiction of Mt Chimborazo in the Andes[38]) a 'transverse section of the Himal. from the Snow to the plains . . . with rocks plants & climate & the zoology by Hodgson, projected on a chart'.[39] Hooker and Hodgson sought to realize their Humboldtian project with respect to a region seen as being at least as full of interest and importance as the Andes, with which it was frequently compared in the scientific literature of the time. If Chimborazo had been the highest mountain in the world, according to Humboldt, in 1807, by 1848 (thanks to the efforts of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India) Kangchenjunga, intermittently visible from Hodgson's parlour windows, now held that honour. Although Tibet remained stubbornly inaccessible to British observers, the Himalayas from the Sutlej to the Brahmaputra had come under increasingly rigorous scientific scrutiny since the 1820s, its geology, meteorology, botany and (due principally to Hodgson) its zoology and ethnography subject to ever-closer observation and more exacting analysis. In the 1830s, 1840s and into the 1850s, the Himalayas were a new and exhilarating frontier of colonial knowledge. From being a remote, almost spectral, appendage to India, the Himalayas began to appear as a crossroads, a point

at which, ethnographically as well as botanically and zoologically, China, Europe, and the Malay world met and mingled in bizarre and unexpected ways. From the initial discovery of the Siwalik fossils and the earliest explorations of its complex geomorphology, the Himalayas seemed capable of revealing momentous secrets about dramatic upheavals and transformations in the Earth's geological record and in the history of its mammalian inhabitants. As Hooker exclaimed to Darwin in March 1848, when he first became fully aware of the immense opportunities the Himalayan region held out for the East India Company naturalists, 'What a glorious field they have!'.[40]

Hodgson's approach and contribution to the scientific project he shared with Hooker can best be seen in his essay 'On the Physical Geography of the Himalaya', first published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1849. Some of its material appears to have been sketched out by Hodgson as early as 1846, well before his first meeting with Hooker, but its final form testifies to their collaboration and the synoptic project in which they were both engaged. The article began by stating the longstanding need to provide a 'clear outline . . . of the principal natural divisions of the Himalayas', both as an objective of value to geography itself and as an aid to the other physical sciences. Hodgson argued that, although knowledge even of the British Himalayan possessions was still incomplete, it was undesirable to wait indefinitely until Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan became 'thoroughly accessible to science'. Having been 'for several years a traveller in the Himalaya', he knew from personal experience how difficult it was to stand back from 'this stupendous scenery' and 'the mighty maze' of the mountains, seemingly without plan or order, to establish 'the grand features' of its physical geography, without, as he saw it, departing from 'mere facts' into 'theory'.[41] Indeed, despite the synoptic range of the article, extending far beyond the 'physical geography' indicated in its title, Hodgson did not attempt to move beyond science as an empirical gathering and collating of diverse 'facts'. In trying to delineate the principal physical features of the Himalayas, Hodgson was seeking (as did Hooker and others) to refute the view, attributed to Humboldt, that the mountains consisted of a single chain of peaks (like the Andes). Rather, he sought to show, it comprised a series of parallel peaks, crossed by transverse ridges and intersected by major river basins. The 'lateral barriers' of the mountain ranges were 'crowned by the pre-eminent Himalayan peaks'. These peaks occupied 'a forward position in respect to the ghat-line or great longitudinal watershed between Tibet and India', and from these 'stupendous peaks', such as Kangchenjunga, ridges extended far to the south, which were also 'proportionately immense'.[42]

In moving from this general account of the Himalayas to a more detailed exposition of its features, Hodgson drew upon the work of earlier observers like Captain J.D. Herbert (published in 1842, but dating from the mid-1820s),[43] as well as recent authorities, like Hooker's surgeon-botanist friend Thomas Thomson for the western Himalayas. Hooker's own travels in 1848 to 1849 to the borderlands of Sikkim, Nepal and Tibet provided Hodgson (who had

not visited these localities himself) with new and first-hand topographical information. He thus acknowledged that he was indebted for information on the Lachen Pass and its vicinity to 'my enterprizing and accomplished guest', whose 'promised map' of Sikkim and the Tista River basin would 'leave nothing to be desired further on that head'.[44]

Herbert's geology, Hooker's botany and Hodgson's own zoology and ethnography were used to complement and refine the broader scientific understanding of the Himalayas and to differentiate the complex landmass from the low-lying malarial terai to the high snow-covered peaks 29,000 feet above sea-level, into three broad topographical, climatic and vegetative regions, broadly corresponding to the Earth's tropical, temperate and arctic zones. It is significant that until 1848 Hodgson had hardly ever employed the terms 'tropical', 'temperate' or 'arctic' in his work. Instead he had deployed either straightforward geographical terms, such as 'eastern Tibet' or 'western Nepal' or variants of indigenous topographical terminology, such as the Tarai, for instance, *Himachal*, the *Hemalaya* (with its Sanskrit origins explained) or, in English, 'the Snows': sometimes he dipped into his classical education to distinguish between the 'cis-nivean' and 'trans-nivean' regions. Hooker, like Humboldt and a number of his own contemporaries, made much freer use of a universalizing terminology which saw the entire globe divided into tropical, temperate and alpine or arctic zones and readily fitted Himalayan India into this classificatory scheme.[45] For this shift in his own topographical language and scientific perception Hodgson was surely indebted to Hooker.

Hodgson explained that he intended to make little comment on the geology and botany of the Himalayas, 'abler pens than mine having now treated the subject', while giving more space to ethnology and zoology 'both as matters I myself am more conversant with, and which still have a deal of novelty in reference to geographical distributions particularly'.[46] By this route he moved from the opening discussion of topography and geology to ethnography, with a summary account of the tribes of the Himalayan region, their languages, origins and historic migrations, then on to the 'zoological enumeration' of the mammals and birds inhabiting the three regions, from musk-deer and marmots among the mammals of the austere highlands to bee-eaters, trogons and 'all such gaudy types' among the birds of the lowlands, and finally back to the geography of the Himalayan river systems.[47]

Hooker covered much the same ground (at considerably greater length and from a more personal perspective) in his *Himalayan Journals*, but the approaches were significantly different. Some of the observation and reasoning in Hooker's account closely follows, or was intimately shared with, Hodgson, including his observations on the ethnography and the many correspondences between the distribution of plants, animals and people in the eastern Himalayas.[48] A distinction between tropical, temperate and arctic vegetation was also fundamental to Hooker's description and analysis, but in presenting his work (after the fashion of Humboldt and Darwin, to whom it was dedicated) as a narrative of scientific travel and exploration he was able to place

his observations and experiences within a wider context and to inject a more individualistic tone and experiential quality into his writing. In many ways dour, methodical and an unlikely Romantic, Hooker nonetheless consciously deployed a range of literary and artistic allusions (for instance, to the paintings of Salvator Rosa and J.M.W. Turner) and used extended graphic descriptions (in which the light and colour of Himalayan cloudscapes and snow-covered passes figured prominently) to embellish his account and to make it more attractive to the non-specialist reader.[49]

Behind this presentational device lay a serious intellectual purpose. Through his descriptions of landscape and flora (as well as through the zoological and ethnographic information Hodgson had obligingly supplied him with) Hooker sought to typify the varying character and changing visual appearance of the Himalayan landscape, not only naming individual trees and flowering plants but also seeking to evoke the physical form of the landscape through its dominant plant species, the cragginess of the hillsides, or the sublimity of the snow-covered peaks. At the same time, in both the published journal and in his correspondence with Darwin and others,[50] Hooker speculated and theorized about the processes involved in the formation of the Himalayas, the role of glaciers in moulding the landscape and on the effects of climate, elevation and aspect in permitting the ascent of essentially tropical plant species and genera high up into the Himalayan ranges. While respectful of Hodgson's intimate local knowledge and his standing as a naturalist, Hooker aspired in his work to be much more of a theorizing and systematizing scientist and, while making use of 'local colour', to locate his discussion of the Himalayas within the context of emerging scientific debates well beyond India itself.

Even though Hodgson and Hooker differed in many respects, they shared common views in others, including the ways in which the naturalist's knowledge might be put to wider imperial purposes. Thus both saw northern India and the Himalayas as a suitable location for future white settlement. From the 1830s and into the 1860s it was widely held that the upland areas of South Asia (including the Kathmandu Valley, Kashmir, the Khasi Hills and Darjeeling-Sikkim) should become 'homelands' for white settlers. By no means the first to make this case,[51] Hodgson was a strong and persistent advocate for India's white highlands, and Hooker followed his lead with some enthusiasm. Hodgson believed that the climate and soil of the eastern Himalayas at 4–6,000 feet above sea level made it particularly well suited for European settlement and that it would bring the much needed benefits of agricultural and commercial 'improvement' to India. While Hooker, for his part, had many positive things to say about the Sikkimese, he generally regarded them as 'indolent' or, in the case of the otherwise likeable Lepchas, 'timorous'. In his *Himalayan Journals* he made several references to the healthiness of Darjeeling for European children who otherwise grew up pale and sickly in the plains. As a botanist, he linked the ability of Europeans to thrive and to reproduce themselves in the 'temperate' hills with the corresponding presence of 'English' plants. On his first approach to Darjeeling, he observed 'English-looking plants

in abundance' – violets, geraniums, and wild strawberries among them – and saw a direct connection between plants so evocative of a 'European spring' and the bright fresh faces of the British children at the hill-station.[52]

In an article written in 1856 Hodgson himself stated that 'the Himalaya generally is well calculated for the settlement of Europeans', adding 'I feel more and more convinced that the encouragement of colonization therein is one of the highest and most important duties of the Government'. Settlement would, he believed, stimulate trans-Himalayan commerce and a smallholding in the Himalayas would be 'a perfect god-send to the starving peasantry of Ireland and of the Scotch Highlands'. It would also enable Europeans to live (as Hodgson and Hooker had done) in the relative salubriousness of the hills: the 'fearful epidemics of the plains' seldom penetrated into the Himalayas, where there was also a 'positive exemption' from serious endemic diseases. With 50 to 100,000 'loyal hearts and stalwart bodies of Saxon mould', Britain's empire in India could 'safely defy the world in arms against it'.[53] Hodgson might have Russian advances into Central Asia in mind in making this last remark, but the outbreak of the Mutiny and Rebellion of 1857–1858 made the case for having a white militia on call in the hills even more forceful. When Hooker appeared before the Parliamentary Select Committee on Colonization and Settlement in India in February 1859 he cited Hodgson (currently in Britain but 'in bad health' and so unable to appear in person) as an authority on Himalayan settlement and trade and extolled the suitability of Darjeeling and Sikkim for white settlement.[54]

The political frontier

The Himalayas were a political as well as a scientific frontier, though, as relations between Hodgson and Hooker demonstrate, the two were often hard to distinguish. Following the Anglo-Gurkha War of 1814–1816,[55] the British saw their strategic interest to lie in containing Nepal and preventing any future expansion of its boundaries, maintaining friendly relations with the court in Kathmandu and especially, following his rise in the mid-1840s, with the astute and powerful Jung Bahadur as Prime Minister and de facto ruler of Nepal.[56] At the same time the British hoped to advance their political and commercial interests in and across the Himalayan passes, towards Tibet, Central Asia and China. Both Hodgson and Hooker espoused the belief that, in the aftermath of the Opium War of 1839–1842, China would become more commercially accessible to Europe and viewed the Himalayan passes as a route by which trade could be developed, but the government in Calcutta remained wary of being seen to meddle too openly on the Himalayan frontier and of provoking China, which continued to claim some authority over the region.

Though exiled from Nepal and out of office, Hodgson sought to remain an influential voice in the Government of India's policy towards Nepal and Tibet. The political officer, or 'Superintendent', in Darjeeling was Dr Archibald Campbell, a Company surgeon who had previously served under Hodgson in

Kathmandu, where he had used his medical training to dissect the Resident's bird and mammal specimens and enlighten him on their 'anatomical peculiarities'.[57] Campbell was also an amateur botanist and in this capacity, as well as the man most responsible for British relations with Sikkim, struck up his own friendship with Hooker, who became a personal friend of the Campbell family in Darjeeling. In fact, both Nepal and Tibet were effectively off-limits, even to a well-connected botanist like Hooker. He had been allowed to botanize on the eastern borders of Nepal and around the western slopes of Kangchenjunga in 1848, but in March 1850 he was barred, despite lobbying Jung Bahadur and his officials in Calcutta, from again entering Nepal.[58] Hooker was, however, determined to botanize in Sikkim and in this both Hodgson and Campbell were eager to assist him.

Sikkim was seen by the British as their protectorate, having been taken from the Gurkhas and restored to its Raja, Chigyal Namgyal, by a treaty signed at Titalya in February 1817. However, there was some resentment in the court at Sikkim at the self-assumed overlordship of the East India Company and a number of other grievances including the appropriation of Darjeeling to become a British sanatorium and refuge from the heat and diseases of the Indian plains in 1835. By 1848 a strongly anti-British, pro-Lhasa factor had emerged at the Durbar, led by the Diwan, who for personal, religious and commercial reasons favoured closer ties with Tibet and China. Hooker's supposedly innocent request, relayed to the Raja by Campbell in September of that year, to be freely allowed in the name of science and for the sake of friendship between the Raja and the Governor-General to botanize in Sikkim and to travel up to its northern passes with Tibet, was met with a firm rebuff, the Raja naively (or perhaps perceptively) observing that if Dr Hooker wished to examine the trees and flowers of Sikkim the Raja would be pleased to have suitable samples sent to him![59]

Hooker's right to roam and the right of the British to acquire scientific knowledge in, and of, Sikkim became the means by which Campbell, claiming to speak with the authority of the Governor-General, sought to bring the Sikkim Raja and his Durbar to heel and to assert effective British suzerainty (and the civilization it was held to represent) over the territory. The upshot was that when Campbell joined Hooker on his expedition in late 1849 to the northern and eastern passes of Sikkim, the Diwan and his faction of the Durbar decided to seize the two intruders and hold them captive at Tumlong, the capital, until the Governor-General listened to their demands.[60] The effect of their seizure and detention, which lasted from 6 November to 23 December, was to strengthen the belief in Calcutta that (as Sir Henry Elliott, the Secretary to the Government of India's Political Department put it) 'we do not do half enough to extend our geographical knowledge on the frontiers' and that 'petty potentates' and 'barbarians' like the Raja of Sikkim who stood in its way should be taught a lesson, if necessary by force.[61] Troops were dispatched to Darjeeling and an invasion of Sikkim threatened, until the Raja and his Diwan capitulated and Hooker and Campbell were released, just before Christmas

Day, 1849. Sikkim was duly punished by an additional loss of its southern territory and its subordination to the British was further extended.

Throughout Campbell and Hooker's captivity, Hodgson remained in Darjeeling. As news began to filter back to the hill-station, along with rumours that the prisoners might be killed or thrown into the freezing waters of the Tista, Hodgson bestirred himself, directing Campbell's deputy, Captain Byng, to prepare Darjeeling for an invasion (possibly, it was even suggested, by the combined forces of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim) and writing urgently to Lord Dalhousie in Calcutta to demand prompt military and diplomatic action. At first, Hooker and Campbell thought of Hodgson as their 'Good Angel',[62] but once Hooker returned to Darjeeling his view of their angelic friend was rapidly transformed. Hodgson had alarmed the Hooker household at Kew with his letters about the fate that had befallen their 'dear boy' at the hands of the 'Sikkimites' (he made them sound like a particularly vengeful Old Testament tribe). He blamed Campbell's vacillating weakness and Highland impetuosity for the 'catastrophe' (so did Hooker privately, but, not wanting to ruin the political agent's career, he kept his opinions to himself). Hodgson hinted that the two captives were in real danger and were about to be put in a cage and sent off to Lhasa or Beijing. In a mistaken attempt to reassure them, he informed the Hookers that he was 'an old Diplomatist' and that they should not distress themselves unnecessarily, 'for I am used to politics & Himalayan politics especially; & our safe and cautious Government is not likely to act against my healing counsels'.[63]

In his own letter to his father a week after his release, Hooker observed with some feeling that Hodgson 'seems to have misapprehended the whole thing'. He believed that his friend had been 'extremely ill at the time & when so his mind wanders'. But he had made a 'great mess' of the political situation, driven the Government of India frantic with letters 'of the most extraordinary description', and thrown Darjeeling into a 'most disgraceful panic' on the basis of unreliable reports relayed by the Raja's own men. 'That Brian was at bottom actuated solely by love of us we know full well', Hooker continued, but he 'must have been mad' to write such letters, or allow them to be written, to the Government of India. Hodgson, who now realized the 'magnitude of his political errors and errors of judgement', was again lapsing into ill-health and depression.[64] In May Hooker left Darjeeling for the last time with his friend Thomson on their botanical expedition to the Khasi Hills. Relations with Hodgson remained cool. He wrote to his father in September 1850 that Hodgson was 'near dying & his mind is quite out of order & has been 6 months past'.[65]

In October 1848 Hooker had written warmly to Darwin that he and Hodgson lived together in the latter's house in Darjeeling 'like brothers',[66] but after the almost Biblical episode of his and Campbell's 'Captivity' at the hands of the 'Sikkimites', relations between the two siblings in science were never quite as intimate and as trusting again. Nevertheless, there remained a great deal of mutual respect and affection, as the passages quoted earlier from

Hooker's *Himalayan Journals* clearly indicate. Hooker named one of his most prized botanical discoveries, a genus of gourd-like jungle climbers with vivid yellow-white flowers, *Hodgsonia* after him, while naming only species of rhododendrons after friends and patrons like Campbell, Falconer and Lady Dalhousie (she, alas, received the more questionable honour of a largely epiphytic form). Naming was important to Hooker, no less of people than of plants, and when his third son was born in 1860, he was given the rather cumbersome name of 'Brian Harvey Hodgson Hooker'. The two men evidently kept in touch after Hodgson's return to England in 1858 and met from time to time. Hooker paid his last visit to Hodgson only two days before his old friend's death on 23 May 1894, just over forty-six years after their first meeting in Darjeeling.[67]

Notes

1 Joseph Dalton Hooker, *Himalayan Journals; Or, Notes of a Naturalist in Bengal, the Sikkim and Nepal Himalayas, the Khasia Mountain &c*, 2 vols, I, London: John Murray, 1854, p. 123.

2 Leonard Huxley, *Life and Letters of Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker*, 2 vols, I, London: John Murray, 1918, p. 262. Hodgson's response was to call Ellenborough, 'the haughtiest nobleman in all India', a 'knave and coxcomb'.

3 William Wilson Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, London: John Murray, 1896, pp. 242–249.

4 I.H. Burkill, *Chapters on the History of Botany in India*, Delhi: Government of India Manager of Publications, 1965; David Arnold, *The New Cambridge History of India, III: 5: Science, Technology and Medicine in Colonial India*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, chapter 2.

5 Hodgson's philosophy is most cogently explained in his letter to Sir Alexander Johnston, Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 20 June 1835, Hodgson Correspondence, NHM, London. My thanks to Ann Datta for drawing this source to my attention.

6 B.H. Hodgson, 'On a New Species of Buceros', *Asiat. Res.*, 1833, vol. 18, p. 186. This is but one of many references (not all uncritical) to George Shaw's multi-volumed *General Zoology, Or Systematic Natural History*, published in London at the turn of the century.

7 Hunter, *Hodgson*, p. 333 and Appendix D, pp. 368–375.

8 Huxley, *Life*, I, p. 37.

9 Adrian Desmond and James Moore, *Darwin*, London: Michael Joseph, 1991, pp. 313–316, 343–345.

10 See 'Dr Hooker's Botanical Mission to India', *Hooker's London Journal of Botany*, VI, 1847, pp. 604–607.

11 Joseph Hooker to his mother, Lady Maria Hooker, 10 June 1848, Hooker's Indian Letters, Archives, RBG.

12 Hunter, *Hodgson*, p. 248.

13 Roger de Candolle, 'Nathaniel Wallich and the Herbarium of the Honourable East India Company', *Botanical Journal of the Linnean Society*, 1981, vol. 83, pp. 333–334.

14 On this, see the letters from Hodgson during the 1830s and 1840s relating to his bird and mammal collections in The Natural History Museum, London.

15 Hooker to Frances Henslow, 25 May 1848, Indian Letters, RBG.

16 Huxley, *Life*, I, p. 262.

17 Hooker to Sir William Hooker, 3 October 1849, Indian Letters, RBG.
18 Hooker to Lady Hooker, 8 August 1849, Indian Letters, RBG.
19 Hooker to Frances Henslow, 10 March 1849, Indian Letters, RBG.
20 Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, I, p. xiv.
21 Hooker to 'my dear Uncle', 17 March 1849, Indian Letters, RBG.
22 Hooker, Indian Journal, entries for March 1849, RBG.
23 Hooker to Sir William Hooker, 23 September 1849, Indian Letters, RBG.
24 Hooker to Sir William Hooker, 1 February 1849, Indian Letters, RBG.
25 Hooker to Darwin, 13 October 1848, in Frederick Burkhardt and Sydney Smith (eds), *The Correspondence of Charles Darwin*, IV, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 171.
26 Darwin to Hooker, 6 October 1848, in Burkhardt and Smith, *Correspondence*, IV, p. 169. Hodgson's name was also not among the many India-based authors (mainly botanists) that constituted Hooker's preliminary reading before his visit to India.
27 Hooker to Darwin, 24 June 1849, in Burkhardt and Smith, *Correspondence*, IV, p. 241.
28 Hodgson to Sir Alexander Johnston, 20 June 1835, Hodgson Correspondence, NHM.
29 Hooker to Sir William Hooker, 24 August 1849, Indian Letters, RBG.
30 Hooker, Indian Journal, 28 October 1848, RBG.
31 Ibid., 28 February 1849.
32 Ibid., 24 March 1849.
33 Hooker to Darwin, 13 October 1848, in Burkhardt and Smith, *Correspondence*, IV, p. 172.
34 Hodgson to Sir William Hooker, 8 December 1848 and 20 June 1849, Indian Letters, RBG.
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42 Ibid., p. 6.
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46 Hodgson, 'Physical Geography', p. 12.
47 Ibid., pp. 16–18.
48 For example, Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, I, p. 140.
49 Ibid., pp. 206, 266, 348.
50 For example, Hooker to Darwin, 24 June and 30 September 1849, in Burkhardt and Smith, *Correspondence*, IV, pp. 241–245, 260–263.
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60 This episode and its aftermath are described at length in Hooker's *Himalayan Journals* as well as his unpublished journal and correspondence at RBG.
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62 Hooker to Frances Henslow, 3 December 1849, Indian Letters, RBG.
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10

BRIAN HODGSON AS ETHNOGRAPHER AND ETHNOLOGIST

Martin Gaenszle

In several respects Hodgson appears like a typical colonial ethnographer. Employed in the Indian Civil Service and stationed in a little-known region he saw it as his duty to collect as much information on the country and the people as was possible. Thus Hodgson's descriptions of Himalayan culture might be seen as primarily a work of administration and intelligence.[1] However, this is only part of the truth: he himself saw his work as that of a pioneer of science, an Orientalist and naturalist trying to collect and record the vast diversity of the cultural worlds in very much the same spirit as when collecting and recording the diversity of the natural world. From today's perspective it may seem that there is little in his writings which could be of interest for contemporary anthropologists. Yet in this reconsideration of Hodgson's work as an ethnographer and ethnologist I want to show why his papers are still frequently quoted by scholars of Himalayan cultures and why a look at this approach is helpful for an understanding of the early history of anthropology.

There is no doubt that Hodgson was to a large degree caught up in the ideology of his times. For one, he was convinced not only that the Himalayas were most suitable for European colonization but also that the government should encourage this.[2] In his view the physical geography of the hills with its gradation of heights made it an ideal habitat for peoples not used to the tropics – an advantage which Hodgson himself had amply experienced due to his fragile health. He also had experimented during his residency in Kathmandu with various European crops, such as strawberries and apples, as well as with the cultivation of tea. The latter, as is well known, subsequently became the colonial cash crop in Darjeeling. So Hodgson was very much part of the colonial process, even though he may be regarded as a moderate advocate, who was against 'wholesale and instantaneous colonization'.

Likewise in his theoretical outlook as an ethnologist Hodgson was a child of the early nineteenth century. As Thomas Trautmann[3] has pointed out, Hodgson was strongly influenced by the debates of his time on the 'discovery' of Sanskrit and an Aryan race, which formed a kind of linguistic-cum-physical

entity in distinction to an aboriginal Other. During the first decades of the nineteenth century philological research, by Francis White Ellis and others, had established the existence of a Dravidian language family, thus countering the common myth prevalent among Pandits that all Indian languages descended from Sanskrit, and indicating that there was an aboriginal element of non-Aryan origin. In the 1840s Hodgson (along with John Stevenson) argued in favour of the theory that all aboriginal languages before the arrival of Sanskrit were of common stock. In his later work, Hodgson identified this aboriginal Other as 'Turanian', a linguistic-ethnic family deriving from the people of Tur (an area close to present-day Iran): this group comprised practically all of the non-Aryan South Asians, including what we today classify as Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Munda and Dravidian. In using this term he adopted the ideas and terminology of Friedrich Max Müller, who took it up from Christian Bunsen, but later discarded the concept.[4]

This debate about the classification of linguistic-ethnic groupings has to be seen in the light of the search for the origin of mankind which was a major concern of the time.[5] Hodgson's position (as that of Müller and others) was close to that of James Cowles Prichard (1786–1848), the leading and highly influential ethnologist of the mid-nineteenth century.[6] Prichard was a monogenist, who believed in the 'unity of mankind' due to reasons linked to his biblical view of creation. He was committed to the belief that 'just as in the beginning all men were one, so had God in the beginning revealed to all men the one true religion'.[7] In their approach to language classification proponents of this monogenist doctrine may be described as 'lumpers',[8] as they tended to group disparate linguistic families among a predetermined number of branches: following the story of the Tower of Babel the language families of the world had to be derived from the three sons of Noah: Sem, Ham and Japhet. In contrast to this view the adherents of the opposing doctrine, i.e. polygenists, can be seen as 'splitters': they were convinced that the dark-skinned populations were fundamentally different from the white-skinned race and wanted to show that mankind has various origins.

What is important about Prichard's ethnology is that he regarded language as a clear indicator of race: the classification of peoples could be based on the classification of language, in short 'languages and peoples coincided'. The idea that language and physical traits were forming an inseparable unity was prevalent among romantics of the time. For example in Herder's influential notion of the 'Volk' a particular language is the direct expression of a people (in the sense of both a physical type and a culture), and even of their adaptation to a landscape. Prichard, who was a physician, attempted to combine comparative anatomy with comparative philology, both being sciences which could be based on a vast amount of new incoming data. But in spite of this vocational background Prichard regarded comparative philology as the superior science: language was seen as a more reliable source for the classification of peoples than physical properties. This view was soon to be repulsed by the success of Darwin's theories. Subsequently ethnology became anthropology.[9]

It was by using this Prichardian methodology that Hodgson pursued his ethnological project of showing that there was a common aboriginal element in the populations of South Asia. He carefully examined physical features (describing 'race') and, above all, used extensive linguistic evidence to make his point. But rather than repeating the common narrative of a superior Aryan race conquering a primitive one, Hodgson's view was quite different. The aborigines of South Asia possessed their own civilization in the beginning but their achievements were destroyed by the Aryan invasion.[10] As he tried to show that the Aryan impact had pushed back many of the 'original' populations into the wild jungles and hills he focused mainly on marginalized, what he called 'broken', tribal groups, especially in the Himalayas.

In the following I will review the major stages of Hodgson's ethnological work. In the first section I focus on the articles which were more or less a direct result of his position as British Resident in Kathmandu. Here Hodgson emerges as a very accurate observer of social facts which concerned him not only for academic reasons. It is in this context, I argue, that Hodgson laid a foundation for subsequent ethnographic inquiries in Himalayan studies. In the second section I take a look at his writings published after his retirement to Darjeeling. Though the materials of these papers also resulted from his work in Kathmandu they can be regarded as his more mature oeuvre where he broaches the big questions indicated above. In the third section I discuss the reception of Hodgson's ethnological contribution in subsequent academic (and quasi-academic) writing. As it will turn out, there is a considerable hiatus between Hodgson's intended contribution and that which in fact became his legacy. To put it bluntly, it was not the grand ideas which made a lasting impact, but the diligent collection of ethnographic data.

The residency years: Hodgson as ethnographer

During his time as Assistant Resident (1825–1833) and Resident (1833–1843) in Kathmandu, Hodgson collected a vast amount of data on social, cultural and ethnic issues in Nepal, which today would be regarded as typical anthropological subjects. But it must be emphasized beforehand that for Hodgson 'ethnology' was restricted to the Prichardian paradigm, and so in his own view only part of this research was ethnological in the narrower sense. Almost all ethnological writings (in this sense) were published only after Hodgson had left Nepal and retired to Darjeeling, probably because they needed a more refined process of editing. However, a few highly interesting ethnographic papers (in the broader sense) were published during the residency years, which show that Hodgson observed the social and cultural world around him with both pragmatic as well as analytic interest. These papers are somewhat unpolished, having the appearance of factual reports. The style bears the imprint of his former master G.W. Traill whom he assisted in Kumaon. They provided survey data, mere intelligence, so to say. But at the same time these early papers display a fine sense for the crucial issues and a close understanding of

the indigenous realities. As many anthropological questions which are a matter of discussion up to the present are brought up here for the first time, Hodgson may be regarded as a founder of Himalayan anthropology.

Before Hodgson's publications knowledge on the Central Himalayan kingdoms was mainly based on short visits to the Kathmandu Valley by Christian missionaries[11] or on the fact-finding missions of colonial agents. The two 'accounts' of the kingdom of Nepal by Colonel William Kirkpatrick (seven week visit in 1793)[12] and Francis Buchanan Hamilton (stayed fourteen months, 1802–1803)[13] were the standard sources when Hodgson first came to Nepal. The first book is basically a travelogue full of detailed descriptions that cover everything from agriculture to taxation issues. The second is more refined, based on longer visits in various places, and full of historical information derived from interviews with notables. Both books are quite impressive pieces of proto-ethnography, with fine illustrations. Yet much of what was written in these books on social matters relied on second-hand information, local interpretations, or simply hearsay.

Hodgson's first important ethnographic paper on Himalayan populations was on the 'Origin and Classification of the Military Tribes of Nepal', published in 1833,[14] but written over several years before that. The topic of classifying the Nepalese tribes had already been taken up by Kirkpatrick and Hamilton, the latter making use for the first time of the term 'military tribes'.[15] But apparently it was a burning issue for the political agenda of the East India Company, and so Hodgson made his own investigations. The reasons behind were of a practical nature, as the paper ultimately dealt with the quality of these tribesmen as soldiers for recruitment.

It is worthwhile to take a closer look at this paper, which goes beyond the previous accounts in its analytic interpretation and already contains various topics that recur in later writings. It starts off with the following sentences:

> The great aboriginal stock of the inhabitants of these mountains, east of the river *Káli*, or in *Népál*, is *Mongol*. The fact is inscribed, in characters so plain, upon their faces, forms, and languages, that we may well dispense with the superfluous and vain attempt to trace it historically in the meagre chronicles of barbarians.

This is a clear statement in the spirit of Prichardian ethnology, though these theories were not an issue at the time of writing. It is interesting that Hodgson later (for the 1874 edition) changed the term 'Mongol' into 'Turanian', apparently in an attempt to fit the paper into his larger theoretical framework. But of course, the sentence does no longer make much sense, as there are no unambiguous physical features of this Turanian type, which includes the dark-skinned Dravidians as well as the lighter-skinned Chinese.

What follows is a short account of Nepal's ethnic history, which goes along the lines of similar narratives current at that time[16] and still popular today. The Muslim invasion in Rajasthan and North India, so it goes, swept multitudes

of orthodox Brahmans and Ksatriyas into the Himalayan hills. There they found wild, barbaric tribes, 'without faith, but fierce and proud'. The minds of these barbarians were 'vacant . . . ready to receive their [Hindu] doctrines' and the women, who were attractive, were not declining the 'embraces' of the 'polished Brahmans'. However, these tribes were reluctant to suffer any degradation in their status, and so it was agreed to give their offspring the rank of a Ksatriya (warrior) by including them in the tribe of the Khas.

Hodgson here draws attention to a crucial and significant feature of the Nepali caste system which he considers to be a key for understanding social divisions in this country. Other than in India, unions between high caste males and 'tribal' females (called hypergamous in anthropological terminology) are quite accepted, and their offspring is given the status of Khatri Chetri (i.e. Ksatriyas), while the name of the father's clan is generally retained.[17] Therefore it is not possible to deduce the rank of a person from his name alone. As Hodgson rightly points out, this situation has led to a considerable growth of these Ksatriya,[18] and to the extensive, and confusing, ramification of 'tribes' (i.e. subcastes, consisting of clans and lineages) of different status. These he lists in minute detail (e.g. Thakuri, Ekthariya Khas, true Khas, etc.), thus presenting the first attempt to classify the major high caste groupings in Nepal.

Whereas the issue of the comparative laxness of intercaste relationships has already been recognized by others,[19] Hodgson reflects on the general cultural implications of these customs and the motivations behind them:

> The original Khas, . . . became soon and entirely devoted to the *Brahmanical* system. (Footnote: That is, they agreed to put away their old gods, and take the new; to have *Brahmans* for *Gúrús*; and not to kill the cow . . .)
>
> They availed themselves of the superior knowledge of the strangers to subdue the neighbouring tribes of aborigines, were successful beyond their hopes, and, in such a career continued for ages, gradually merged the greater part of their own habit, ideas, and language (but not physiognomy) in those of the *Hindús*.[20]

In short: this is, to my knowledge, the first description of the process of Hinduization or Sanskritization.[21] Though Hodgson initially speaks of a conversion to Hinduism intended by the Brahmans, he eventually argues that it was in the interest of the converts themselves to adopt the new creed. The adoption of the more prestigious regime became a strategic advantage in the political power struggle. This is precisely the point which has later been made by proponents of the Sanskritization theory: Hinduism allows converts without the missionary efforts as developed by Christianity or Islam. It appears to me that this kind of treatment of cultural change has influenced later studies by Sylvain Lévi[22] and, perhaps, Max Weber.[23] Note also that the observation in fact contradicts the Prichardian paradigm concerning the coincidence of language and race.

However, these interpretive considerations are rather a side-product of Hodgson's paper. It should be borne in mind that the main purpose of his presentation was to classify the 'military tribes' of Nepal and to recommend them as the perfect soldiers for recruitment in the Company's Army. The 'martial classes' (another conspicious term), Hodgson concludes, comprise the Khas (see above), as well as the Magar and Gurung who retained their indigenous language. He goes on to compare these two groupings, giving a slight preference to the latter, since the Khas are more loyal to the House of Gorkha (the ruling dynasty) and 'more liable to Brahmanical prejudices'. But on the whole all these groupings are clearly preferable to the Indian *sipahis*. Whereas the highland soldiers from Nepal 'despatch their meal in half an hour, and satisfy the ceremonial law by merely washing their hands and face, and taking off their turbans before cooking' the Indian soldiers have more complicated Hindu rituals to perform and 'must eat nearly naked in the coldest weather, and cannot be in marching trim again in less than three hours'. Thus, it is due to the relatively unorthodox kind of Hinduism and their 'unadulterated military habits' that these martial tribes are praised by Hodgson as 'by far the best soldiers in Asia'.[24]

This short text, which is a typical mixture of academic discourse and a pragmatic political pleading, has not only been consequential for recruitment policies up to the present, it also has been seminal for later discourses on martiality in the Himalayas.[25] It shows both Hodgson's academic interest in the history of religions, language and ethnicity, and his direct involvement in general political decisions as British Resident in Kathmandu. Knowledge and power were intrinsically connected.

Clearly in this early period Hodgson was less a Prichardian ethnologist, influenced by the prevalent grand theories of diffusion, but more of a close observer of social customs and processes. This comes out in his writings on the legal system, in his descriptions of commerce, and in some 'cursory notices' on the regional ethnography of Nepal.

In 'Some Accounts of the Systems of Law and Police as Recognised in the State of Nepal' (1834),[26] Hodgson presents a detailed description of the legal institutions as they were at work during the time of his residency. Part I is unique as the account is given in the form of questions and answers (which may be seen as a kind of precursor to a dialogic anthropology!). These questions were given to several informed individuals (who are not further identified), apparently in written form, and the various answers were later edited into the text which was submitted to the Asiatic Society in Calcutta. Thus the account is quite elaborate and, from today's perspective, still highly interesting. For example, the text gives a detailed description of the institutional set-up of the courts of law in the country, the power of various judicial functionaries, or the role of oral testimony, oath, and ordeals. This was produced at a time, one should add, when there was no written code of law in Nepal and the promulgation of Jang Bahadur's famous *Muluki Ain* (1854) – the first codex – was still twenty years away!

This provides a rich source on the working of customary law in Nepal during the first half of the nineteenth century and shows that Hodgson was well acquainted with the matter. His interest, of course, was not only academic. As Hodgson was from time to time directly involved in legal quarrels, it was crucial for him and his superiors to understand the functioning of the local system. For example, toward the end of his residency (when he already was deeply immersed in the intricate games of power politics), he had to protect an Indian subject, a merchant from Banaras called Kashinath Mall, against 'strong-handed interference with all legal proceedings' by the royal court.[27] The highest court (Kot-linga) had already dismissed the legal case in which the merchant was involved, but it was reopened on purely political grounds.[28] Thus Hodgson got to know not only the normative dimension of the system of law, but also experienced how it was manipulated in practice.

Part II of the text on the legal system is a more interpretive account which discusses further details of the prevailing customary law which later was codified into written law. Especially it deals with regulations concerning intercourse between the sexes, cross-caste relationship, the position of outcasts, forms of punishment, degradation and banishment. At the beginning of this text Hodgson sets out to compare the Hinduism of Nepal with that of India (a topic which recurs in his reflections). He observes that Hinduism in the plains could no longer retain its orthodox principles due to Muslim rule, whereas in Nepal people are proud to be good Hindus: 'the dominant classes . . . regard themselves as the sole remaining depositories of undefiled, national Hinduism'.[29] Hodgson here touches on a central issue of modern Nepali self-identity, and he does not fail to note its ambivalences: on the one hand the high castes claim to be true and orthodox Hindus, on the other hand much of everyday practice is in fact more lax than would be required according to the shastric tradition. But what counts, as Hodgson stresses, is the ostensive public enforcement of the Laws of Manu with all the prescribed forms of severe punishment: 'it is in Nepal alone . . . that the sword of public justice is now wielded to realise them.'[30]

With such observations on the politics of culture Hodgson tends to go beyond the mere factuality of the ordinary intelligence report, but the question of policy is always present. Above all, what disturbs him, is the strictness of the law in matters of intercaste relations, where strangers (such as British citizens!) are treated as 'outcasts' and ritual pollution of others is a severe offence. Hodgson clearly expresses his disgust for such self-created 'evil' and notes, with some resignation, 'the small probability there exists of our inducing the Darbar [Royal Palace] to waive in our favour so cherished a point of religion'.[31] There is evidently a cultural gap and the Company is advised not to take these matters of self-presentation too lightly.

This combination of factual accounts and descriptions with a sensitive understanding of identity issues is also found in other early papers. In 'A Cursory Notice of Náyakote and of the Remarkable Tribes Inhabiting it' (1841)[32] Hodgson gives a socio-geographical account of the town of Nuwakot, where the winter residence of the Shah kings is located. He describes in painstaking

detail the topography (rivers, villages, features of the landscape) and the natural resources of the region (among many other fruits he lists seventeen sorts of rice by name). Eventually he proceeds with a short account of the inhabitants, focusing mainly on the non-Parbatiya, i.e. the 'peculiar races' such as the 'Dénwár [Dhanwar], Dari, Kuswar, Botia, Bhrámu, and Kúmhá' – as these have not been described before. It seems that this is the first encounter Hodgson had with the mountain tribes, as he is still full of prejudice and describes them as 'exceedingly ignorant'. Apparently Hodgson had had problems with interviewing these peoples, as he goes on to complain that they 'use the little wit they have in cunning evasion of all enquiry into their origin and history . . ., pretending to have forgotten their father-land and speech'.[33]

It is interesting that in this paper Hodgson is still at odds with how to classify these peoples, as they are not 'Tartaric' (i.e. Mongolian), but nevertheless aboriginal, and so he classes them as belonging to some 'fragmentous branches' of Indo-Germanic, which he also identifies as Turanian. In a long footnote added in 1857, after he had delved into linguistic analysis, he specifies that these are the 'broken tribes' of Turanian, distinguishing them from the 'unbroken' ones, such as Dravidian and Munda.[34]

What is more pertinent in the present context is that Hodgson also notes a 'distinctness *among themselves*, which is apt to make a stranger smile, though it may possibly indicate different periods of immigration and of settlement within the hills, or immigrations from different places'.[35] It is surprising to him that all these small groups keep to themselves, they do not intermarry and retain a distinct ethnic identity. At the same time they also speak Nepali as second language and 'call themselves Hindus, though they neither believe in the sacred scriptures of the Hindus, nor accept the sacerdotal offices of the Brahmans'.[36] Again, what emerges, is the unique character of Central Himalayan Hinduism.

To conclude this section, one might say that in the early period of Hodgson's ethnographic writing we find a mixture of genres: on the one hand, these papers are specimens of intelligence meant to facilitate policy decisions in Calcutta.[37] On the other hand, one notices the fledgling academic discourse which is sometimes more, sometimes less evident. In both instances, accuracy of fact is the major norm, whether he deals with statistical figures or linguistic materials. Therefore I regard these as unpretentious ethnographic papers. Here Hodgson simply tries to describe the situations he encounters, being as precise as possible, but with little intention to contribute to larger-scale theories. Nevertheless, as we have seen, Hodgson is led to more general reflections on the construction of meanings, differential identities and the political uses of Hinduism, which stand out from the often dull factual reporting and appear as glimpses of a modern anthropological inquiry.

The years in Darjeeling: Hodgson as ethnologist

Only in his later writings, after retiring to Darjeeling in 1843, Hodgson developed his 'mature' style of ethnological discourse. Now he finds the time to

work on the linguistic materials and write up his notes in a more polished form, linking his findings to the more general concerns of contemporary academic inquiry. He still submits various summary reports to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in whose journal almost all his papers are published, but now also some lengthier papers appear. Nevertheless, all the articles are still very 'factual', i.e. written in a rather detached style. They rarely contain expressions of the author's feeling toward his subject, but are mainly motivated by the intention to classify, and to explain the classifications through their history.

Hodgson's methodological approach comes out clearly in a short and summary account titled 'On the Aborigines of the Sub-Himalayas' (1847/1848).[38] This paper gives a comprehensive yet concise overview of the ethnic groups in the Central Himalayas, and as it provides a useful classification it has been quoted numerous times. Apart from the Khas-speaking Parbatiya castes he lists ten 'races' (Bhotia, Sunwar, Magar, Gurung, Murmi, Newar, Kiranti, Limbu, Lepcha and Bhutanese), which are termed the principal 'Alpine tribes of the sub-Himalaya' or the 'Alpine Indian Aborigines' (see Plate 23 which, like Plate 22, is a rare illustration from 1847).[39] He notes their territorial affiliation and stresses that they inhabit all the central and temperate climate zones of the mountains. Then he goes on to point out the linguistic affinities, stating that they 'are all of Tibetan origin',[40] and takes a look at their legends of migration as well as their physiognomy. All this leads him to the conclusion that these tribes have come from the north and crossed the Himalayan range before the seventh century. From today's perspective, of course, this is a gross simplification, but it does contain a basic truth. The point, however, is that the distinctness of the tribes is seen primarily as resulting from the simultaneous effects of habitat, language change, physiological adaptation and history. And what matters to the ethnologist is the origin of lingual-physical ethnic difference, not so much its actual attributes.

In the more elaborate articles Hodgson uses basically the same approach, combining linguistic analysis, geography, and macro-history with observations on physical features, thus following the Prichardian paradigm (see Figures 10.1 and 10.2). But in spite of this theoretical bias Hodgson continues to take considerable interest in matters of local history.

It is worthwhile to take a closer look at the essay 'On the Kocch, Bódó and Dhimál Tribes' (1847),[41] which Robert Gordon Latham, the student and successor of James Cowles Prichard, described as 'a model of an ethnological monograph' in 1851.[42] In fact, in the preface to this essay[43] Hodgson himself proposes the structure of inquiry to be used as a model for other researchers, who should fill in the respective data collected from other groups. For Hodgson this essay was just the first of a series which he planned – but which never materialized. What he had in mind was a big comparative project on the aboriginal populations of India, which should show the unity of these peoples (here identified still as 'Tamulians') just as the unity of the Ayrans had been demonstrated.

This text deals with three 'racially' closely related aboriginal peoples from the plains below the east-Central Himalayas (eastern Nepal, Sikkim). It is a

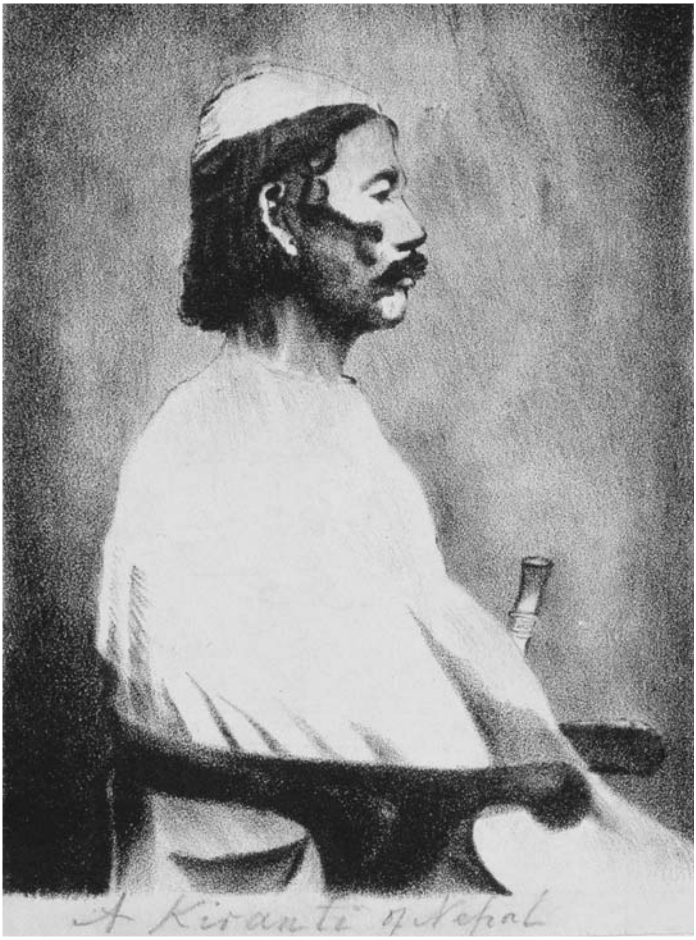


Figure 10.1 A Bontava Kiranti from Nepal, *c.*1850, Hodgson Scrapbook pl. 32, NHM.

fairly lengthy article of 160 pages (in the 1880 edition) and begins straightaway with a 71 page section containing a list of vocabulary of the 3 groups (in columns). Part II continues with an elaborate grammar of the languages, their noun and pronoun system, verbal paradigms, syntax, with detailed samples of the spoken language (altogether another 30 pages). Only in the third part (after more than 100 pages!) we learn more about the people's living condition. The message is clear: language comes first. Above all one has to understand the language, only then one can understand the rest (beliefs, customs, history, what later became designated as 'culture').

It is interesting that Hodgson is well aware that one of the languages, that of the Kocch, is in fact a form of Bengali, whereas the other two languages



Figure 10.2 A Hayu, or Vayu, from Nepal, *c.*1850, Hodgson Scrapbook pl. 33, NHM.

have preserved their 'primitive raciness'. Therefore, only the Bodo and Dhimal languages are analyzed linguistically. They are classed as belonging to the 'pronomenalised type' or as 'complex', a grammatical category which Hodgson introduced.[44] He was fascinated by this type, which in spite of its complexity he regarded as 'primitive'. However, the case of the Kocch shows that race and language need not coincide, i.e. again the Prichardian paradigm proves to be inadequate (though Hodgson does not discuss this). What complicates the situation is history.

In the third part, titled 'Origin, Location, Numbers, Creed, Customs, Character and Condition of the Kocch, Bodo, and Dhimal People, with a General Description of the Climate they Dwell in', Hodgson first gives a detailed account of the habitat of the groups under discussion (settlement and subsistence), as well as of the historical background. Outlining the location of the groups, he comes to deal with the history of the Kocch Kingdom (Kocch

Raj), which extended between the borders of present-day Nepal, Sikkim and Bengal. He describes quite accurately how the upper sections of the Kocch converted to Hinduism while the lower ones adopted Islam, both taking up the new ethnonym 'Rajbamsi'. 'The above details are interesting for the light they throw upon *the character and genius of Hinduism* [italic in original], which is certainly an exclusive system, *but not inflexibly so* [author's italic].'[45]

So here we have another account of the process of Hinduization. Evidently people need not stick to their religion nor to their language. Both can be changed due to historical exigencies, though often 'traces' of the older period may be recognizable. Here it emerges again that for Hodgson the ethnological inquiry is mainly a historical reconstruction, not so much of the Biblical macro-history, but of the more recent small-scale developments: processes of migration, submission, conversion, re-naming, etc.

Hodgson goes on to deal with the climate and the 'physical type', which are both seen as closely connected. The habitat in this hot and moist climate is 'malarious to an extent which no human beings can endure, save the remarkable races which for ages have made it their dwelling-place'.[46] The point which is repeatedly made is that the groups under discussion have adapted to this inhospitable place over the centuries. These 'non-Arians' are further characterized in contrast to the 'Arians' in descriptions such as: 'there is less height, less symmetry, more dumpiness and flesh'.[47] Thus the groups under discussion are represented as distinct in terms of race: the Prichardian paradigm which deals with the 'diversities worked by time and clime' is reconfirmed.

In the subsequent sections Hodgson also gives elaborate synchronic accounts of customs, i.e. normative descriptions of cultural features. Under the headings 'condition' or 'status' he describes the system of shifting cultivation, including the political relations of tax liability, etc. The people are described as rather independent-minded and egalitarian, there is no specialization of craftsmen or functionaries, nor a division of social groups. In short: this is a simple society. There is not even a public law. 'Their habits are too simple and migratory to allow of the existence of the village system.'[48] Nevertheless Hodgson continues to give a detailed description of kinship norms, such as the rules of inheritance, marriage regulations, the high valuation of women, bride-wealth and bride-service, which give evidence of a tribal morality. Occasionally it comes through that Hodgson holds this morality in relatively high esteem, as he stresses that 'savage' customs such as infanticide, self-immolation and 'satti', prevalent in other parts of India, do not exist.

Such subliminal sympathies can also be noticed in his fairly extensive description of religion, which is presented as moderate, straightforward, and even natural. 'I have no hesitation in calling the religion of the amiable Bódo and Dhimáls the religion of Nature or rather, the natural religion of Man.'[49] Hodgson provides a comprehensive list of the numerous deities, including a scheme of classification ('national gods', 'household gods', 'river gods', 'dii minores', etc.). Especially in the sections on rituals and festivals the description becomes more lively: here one reads about blood offerings, possession

cults, oracles, village festivities, and witchcraft. It is clear (and made explicit at some points) that Hodgson has had first-hand experience of such ritual practices and therefore his accounts can be regarded as rather authentic.

All this has been the only ethnographic description of these cultures until very recently. In fact, sections of this article are directly quoted in Dor Bahadur Bista's *People of Nepal*,[50] a book first published in 1967 but frequently reprinted and still an authoritative source. Very little new information is added after more than a hundred years.

Looking at this 'model of an ethnological monograph' as a whole, I want to point out the inductive style of reasoning which Hodgson uses here. He starts from the very factual, concrete: linguistics, habitat and physical type. Then he moves on to a description of customary practices and religion, which includes historical analysis and a particular focus on the use of words. Culture and language are seen as directly reflecting each other. For example, Hodgson stresses that there is no word for 'village', and thus no concept for this social entity. Similarly he notes that religious terminology is 'vague': 'their languages have no word for God, for soul, for heaven, for hell, for sin, for piety, for prayer, for repentance.'[51] This, of course, only shows a certain naivity concerning the possibility of intercultural translation. At the end of his account Hodgson eventually tries to bring out the essence of these cultures, or what some cultural anthropologists might describe as its ethos.

The last section is on the 'character' of the Bodo and Dhimal people. This, he writes, is 'full of amiable qualities . . . They are intelligent, docile, free from all hard or obstructive prejudices, honest and truthful . . . steady and industrious . . . They are void of all violence against their own people or towards their neighbours.'[52] In other words, they are not to be feared as criminals or dacoits. But this positive trait also disqualifies them for military service: they are not 'of military or adventurous genius, and both nations decidedly prefer, and are better suited for, the homebred and tranquil cares of agriculture'.[53] Here Hodgson still shows traces of the pragmatic colonial officer who gives advice for policy decisions, but this is no longer the dominant interest.

What I regard as one of the strongest sides of Hodgson's ethnography is his sensitivity for ethnic labelling. I have already noted above the subtle observations on the use of the new ethnonym 'Rajbamsi'. Likewise he remarks in a footnote that the ethnonym Mécch (which occurs also in Sanskrit texts) is often used in reference to the Bodo. He adds: 'Mécch is a name imposed by strangers. This people call themselves Bodo, which, of course, is the proper designation.'[54] (See Plate 22.) Thus Hodgson makes the important distinction between an ethnonym used in self-ascription or as ascription by others.

Similar observations are found in other ethnographic papers. The classification and labelling of groups was a major concern for colonial ethnographers in general, but not all were interested in the historicity of such names. This kind of ethnohistoric approach also comes out very clearly in another important paper published in 1858: 'On the Kiránti Tribe of the Central Himálaya.'[55]

Though the paper is much shorter, it is similar in the basic structure to the one discussed above. It first classifies the Kiranti group linguistically as 'pronominalized' or 'complex' of Turanian. It then gives a short historical outline of the Kiranti's migration and settlement, referring to their role in the classical Sanskrit texts and the Nepali chronicles. According to the latter source Kiranti kings were ruling the Nepal Valley for many centuries after the mythic Gopal dynasty, until they were gradually subjugated by the kings of the Malla, the Sen-Makwanpur, and the Shah dynasty. It is this 'antiquity as a nation' as well as their unique language which makes them 'the most interesting of all the Himalayan races'.[56]

Hodgson then continues by giving a very careful analysis of the indigenous ethnic labels:

> Adverting to the high recorded antiquity of the terms Kirát or Kiránt and Kiráti or Kiránti (vague nasal), as applied respectively to the country and people even to this hour, it is remarkable that the Kiránti themselves do not readily admit the genuineness and propriety of those terms, but prefer the name Khwombo vel Khombo and Kiráwa as their general personal designations, and seem to have none at all for their country.[57]

He further points out the regional division of the territory into three sections, called Hither Kirat (Wallo Kirat), Middle Kirat (Majh Kirat), and Further Kirat (Pallo Kirat), stressing that this implies the perspective of the 'Khas metropolis', i.e. Kathmandu. Thus it emerges that the ethnonym, which is derived from a territorial term, is an ascription used only by the inhabitants of the political centre, not by the people themselves. Hodgson then presents one of the first lists of the Kiranti's internal division of 'septs' (i.e. 'subtribes') which speak mutually unintelligible dialects. In short: Hodgson's linguistic approach is here combined with his understanding of social processes of subjugation, classification, and naming.

This account stood unchallenged until modern ethnography began in East Nepal in the 1960s and 1970s.[58] In fact, when preparing for fieldwork on Rai ethnicity in 1983, I, too, relied on Hodgson's data as the most comprehensive source available at that time. His linguistic data helped me to get an idea of the language, and his discussion of the use of ethnonyms sharpened my attention to local naming practices. So in my analysis of ethnic identity I could directly take up these issues first brought up by Hodgson.[59]

Whereas the articles on the Central Himalayan ethnic groups contain many details on cultural practices, those on other South Asian tribes (in the Nilgiris, Central India, Orissa, North-East Frontier) are almost exclusively linguistic, consisting mainly of word-lists. This is apparently due to the fact that the former are largely based on first-hand accounts while the latter rely on data provided by others (administrators, missionaries, etc.). So if one reads a title such as 'The Aborigines of Central India' (1848),[60] one should not be misled

to think that the articles provide information on cultural matters. Hodgson in his 'mature' ethnology more and more focuses on the big question: how do all the Indian aborigines relate? And his answer, as already indicated, is quite straightforward: all the aborigines of the Indian subcontinent, including Mongolians ('Tartars'), Munda, and Drawidians ('Tamulians') are of the same family. The differences within this stock of aboriginal languages are explained by history. The linguistic diversities exhibited by these groups are

> but the more or less superficial effects of their long and utter dispersion and segregation, owing to the savage tyranny of the latter race [= Arians] in days when the rights of conquest were synonymous with a licence to destroy, spoil and enslave.[61]

Here, in a unique inversion of widely held beliefs at the time, the Ayrans are depicted not as a more refined race but as barbarians who 'broke' up the languages of the northern 'pristine population' which was 'hunted into jungly and malarious recesses'.[62] In these later writings the issue of physical properties, though still present, tends to become less important, often only appended to the articles. Clearly, race is less significant than language.

For Hodgson, modern ethnology had to clarify the 'great antehistoric movements of nations',[63] and so in his own perception the above insights into the history of submission and dispersal are his true contribution to Indian ethnology. As we know today, much of this is wrong. Nevertheless, Hodgson's ethnographic descriptions, not so much his theories, have had a lasting impact on further writings on South Asian anthropology.

Reception of Hodgson's ethnographic work

We have seen that Hodgson was a pioneer of South Asian ethnography and has provided detailed accounts on Himalayan ethnicity and culture. There were relatively few others involved in similar work on the subcontinent at the time, and to most who were Hodgson maintained contacts (e.g. Walter Elliott, George Campbell). However, if we look at the census ethnographers a few decades later, it is surprising that there is little direct reference to Hodgson, though he was still well known. For example Herbert Risley, the colonial ethnographer of Bengal, who uses the same style of transcribing indigenous names as Hodgson, makes no direct reference to him.[64] The same applies to Denzil Ibbetson and his volume on Panjab castes.[65] The point is that during the second half of the nineteenth century the paradigm changed. It had become clear that language and race cannot be regarded as coincident and, as the interest in race became even more dominant after Darwin, the issue of language was dropped.[66] One of the few direct impacts of Hodgson's ethnology was the use of the term 'broken tribes', which was taken up by Dalton,[67] for example.

By that time it had also become clear that the theory of a common aboriginal 'Turanian' stock was not tenable, and so the language-based approach

was discarded as a whole. Now what counted, besides the continuing concern for 'race', was the idea of a primitive society and its social institutions.[68] The dominant paradigm was no longer (diffusionist) history but evolutionism. But the problems had also changed. Now the aim of ethnography was to provide the proper knowledge to control and administer the numerous groups. Still this was primarily a problem of classification, but also it raised detailed questions concerning land-ownership, political leadership, territorial divisions and intergroup relationships. Symptomatic is the work of W.W. Hunter, Hodgson's early biographer and admirer. His own twenty volume statistical survey of Bengal,[69] though likewise inspired by the older tradition of statistics,[70] is quite different from Hodgson's ethnological essays.

However, Hodgson had an impact in other quarters. Many of his accounts remained the standard source in subsequent popular books on the Nepal Himalayas. For example, his listing of the ethnic groups is directly incorporated into the popular book by Oldfield, surgeon at the residency in Kathmandu (1850–1863), which was published in 1880.[71] But also for scholars, Hodgson remained an authority for many decades to come. As we know, Hodgson had always planned to write a comprehensive history of Nepal. But it was left to Sylvain Lévi to take up this challenge in a major publication. Lévi is full of praise for Hodgson's pioneering work and writes: 'Avant Hodgson, presque tout restait à faire; après lui, ses successeurs ne trouvent qu'à glaner.' [Before Hodgson everything was still to be done, after him his successors can only pick the rest.][72] Lévi quotes many of Hodgson's papers, not only those on the ethnic distribution but also others, such as the one on the legal system. Another scholar, writing in the early twentieth century, who expressed his high esteem for Hodgson was the German anthropologist Adam Leonhard.[73]

Above all however, Hodgson had a great impact on the numerous books on the Gurkha soldiers serving in the British Army. The recruitment officer captain Eden Vansittart published standard accounts of the 'Goorkha' and drew extensively on Hodgson's data.[74] He uses the same kind of listings as in Hodgson's paper on the military tribes (1833), adding names of 'tribes' and clans as obtained through his own enquiries. This presentation of Gurkha ethnicity became the norm in all subsequent 'handbooks' on the Gurkha regiments.[75] Even as late as 1957, in a book by Tuker,[76] the classification of 'aboriginal tribes' provided by Hodgson, which deals with the 'broken tribes' and the 'Tartaric stock', is presented in unmodified form as standard knowledge of the time. Thus Hodgson's view had become an integral part of the discourse on Gurkha martiality: hardy tribesmen, subdivided by tradition, but straightforward and simple-minded.

Hodgson has been a valuable source for anthropologists up to the present. Due to the self-isolation of Nepal, which intensified during the century of Rana rule (1846–1951), virtually no new authentic information on the life of ethnic groups in Nepal came through to the outside world, and so Hodgson was quoted by the early modern ethnographers almost as if a contemporary authority.[77] As already indicated, in his book on the people of Nepal, Dor

Bahadur Bista, who had accompanied Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf on this tours through the hills, relies at several points on Hodgson's accounts.[78] Even in later books on the ethnic diversity of Nepal the influence of Hodgson is still evident.[79] But mainly Hodgson is used by modern scholars as a historical source. For example, studies of Nepal's law code of 1854 refer to Hodgson's descriptions of legal concepts, thus contextualizing the written document.[80] Hodgson's papers provide a temporal point of reference, as they indicate the conditions in the nineteenth century. For my study on ethnic identity it was very helpful to see which ethnic labels were in use in the mid-nineteenth century, as some of them had changed.[81]

Conclusion: from collector of intelligence to comparative ethnologist

We have seen that Hodgson's work as an ethnographer can be clearly divided into two periods: during his time as British Resident at Kathmandu he was busy collecting a vast amount of materials on the ethnic diversity in the Himalayas, but published mainly short papers which had relevance for policy decisions. At that time he was a typical scholar-administrator, who combined the task of providing intelligence with the ambition of the academic. After his retirement to Darjeeling Hodgson turned into a full-time scholar and only then he came to be seen as an ethnologist in the sense current at that time: a searcher for the origin and diffusion of human populations with the means of comparative philology. Thus Hodgson developed from an observer and collector of facts ('statistics') to a comparativist, who focused on marginalized peoples in order to reconstruct an earlier process of migration and distribution.[82] Only as a 'mature' ethnologist Hodgson pursued the big questions discussed by Prichard, Latham, Müller and others. His theory about a South Asian aboriginal stock and the 'broken' tribes was for him the major contribution to Indian ethnology. But this soon became outdated (even during his life-time!), and what remained influential of his work as ethnographer was mainly his detailed description from the earlier period. Thus Hodgson became known not for the sweeping answers to the few big questions, but for the detailed answers to many small questions.

Hodgson was unique among colonial ethnographers due to his broad interests and the multiple competences of a polymath. But he was a relatively typical ethnologist of the period which according to Trautmann can be characterized as the one 'before the revolution in ethnological time'.[83] This revolution came about around 1860, when due to converging insights of prehistoric archaeology and biological anthropology (including Darwin) the chronology of Mosaic ethnology, which crammed the whole of human history into a time span of about 6,000 years, collapsed and all of a sudden the development of human culture extended over several hundred thousand years. Roughly speaking: the macrohistorical narrative about the dispersal of the descendants of Noah turned into the evolutionist narrative about the

gradual development from primitive culture to civilization. Clearly, Hodgson was not an evolutionist (in spite of his interest for skulls), but rather a degenerationist, who believed in an original egality of all cultures. In this perspective, savages or tribes were peoples 'who have lost contact',[84] not primitives in the later sense.

But, as we have seen, Hodgson in practice went partly beyond such paradigms. Even before the 'invention' of participant observation he was a close observer of social facts. He also was a sharp analyst of social processes and described micro-histories with the eyes of an experienced political pragmatist. Of course, the conditions of his data gathering were marked by the particular colonial context. There is one anecdote which recounts how Hodgson during his residency years once asked the Nepali authorities for a representative of a particular tribe. He was then presented with one who was delivered in a cage.[85] Fieldwork in the modern sense was simply not possible. The restriction on travel forced Hodgson to rely on very elaborate forms of interviewing.

But, above all, I would stress that Hodgson's emphasis on and sensitivity for linguistic matters marked the unique style of his ethnography, and this is an area where later ethnographers do not always compare favourably. Trained in classical philology and close to the Orientalists in his outlook, Hodgson took local languages seriously, not only as a code for communication but also as a medium of traditions. He acknowledged early on that the ancient tribes, whose 'fragments' he described, possessed a culture more or less on a par with the 'Aryan' ones. It is significant in this respect that in 1840 Hodgson collected fourteen books in the Kiranti script (i.e. a tribal language) and sent them to the India Office Library, just as he did with the manuscripts of the Hindu and Buddhist tradition.[86] That Hodgson uses (simple) diacritical markers to represent indigenous terms – even in his intelligence reports – may be seen as a form of respect for the other languages. As indicated above, his style of representation was taken up in many later books.

Clearly, for Hodgson language was the essence of ethnic cultures, and it was through language that ethnology could comprehend its object. This basically romantic attitude, which equates language with mind, already comes out in Hodgson's position on vernacular education.[87] In this important and consequential debate he forcefully argued in favour of using local languages for colonial education (rather than Sanskrit or English), because the indigenous idiom provided the best access to the people's minds. This deeply held view about the primacy of language pervades all of Hodgson's ethnological work. And it is this valuation of language traditions which soon became outdated in the subsequent developments of Indian ethnology, a change which also affected the discipline of ethnology in general.

Notes

1 See C.A. Bayly, *Empire & Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 113, 278.

2 B.H. Hodgson, 'On the Colonization of the Himalaya by Europeans', in *Essays on the Languages, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet together with Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology and Commerce of those Countries* (Part II, Chapter 7), London: Trübner & Co., 1874, p. 83.

3 T. Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, New Delhi: Vistaar, 1997, Chapter 5. Also see P. van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, p. 141; and G.W. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, New York: The Free Press, 1987.

4 Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, p. 58.

5 This tracing of humanity in biblical terms has been called 'Mosaic ethnology' by Trautmann, in *Aryans*.

6 See Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, pp. 48–56, and Trautmann, *Aryans*, pp. 132–134.

7 Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, p. 49.

8 Ibid., p. 67.

9 Trautmann, *Aryans*, p. 134.

10 Ibid., p. 159.

11 For example, Grueber and D'Orville in 1662 and Desideri in 1721 gave rather sparse reports, see C. Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603–1721*, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1924.

12 W. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul, Being the Substance of Observations Made During a Mission to that Country, in the Year 1793*, London: W. Miller, 1811.

13 F. Buchanan Hamilton, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal and of the Territories Annexed to this Dominion by the House of Gorkha*, Edinburgh: 1819.

14 B.H. Hodgson, 'Origin and Classification of the Military Tribes of Nepal', *JASB*, 1833, vol. 2, pp. 217–224.

15 Hamilton, *Account*, p. 18.

16 Ibid., pp. 11ff.

17 C. von Fürer-Haimendorf, 'Unity and Diversity in the Chetri Caste of Nepal', in C. von Fürer-Haimendorf (ed.) *Caste and Kin in Nepal, India and Ceylon*, Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1966, p. 31.

18 P.R. Sharma, 'Nepal: Hindu-tribal Interface', *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, 1978, vol. 6 (1), p. 9.

19 Hamilton, *Account*, p. 18.

20 Hodgson, 'Origin and Classification of the Military Tribes', p. 218.

21 The latter term has been suggested by M.N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952. Though criticized by various authors this work has been influential in subsequent discussions on the spread of Hindu ideologies.

22 On Lévi's contribution to this field see A. Höfer, 'On Re-reading Le Népal: What We Social Scientists Owe to Sylvain Lévi', *Kailash*, 1979, vol. 7 (3–4), pp. 175–190.

23 See H. Kulke, 'Max Weber's Contribution to the Study of "Hinduization" in India and "Indianization" in Southeast Asia', in H. Kulke (ed.) *Kings and Cults: State Formation and Legitimisation in India and Southeast Asia*, Delhi: Manohar, 1993, pp. 240–261. However, it is not clear whether Weber knew Hodgson's writings.

24 Hodgson, 'Origin and Classification of the Military Tribes', p. 221.

25 Cf. Lionel Caplan, *Warrior Gentlemen: 'Gurkhas' in the Western Imagination*, Providence/Oxford: Berghahn, 1995.

26 Republished in B.H. Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects*, London: Trübner & Co., 1880, vol. 2, section 12.

27 W.W. Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson: British Resident at the Court of Nepal*, London: John Murray, 1896, p. 209.

28 K.L. Pradhan, *Brian Hodgson at the Kathmandu Residency 1825–1843*, Guwahati/Delhi: Spectrum, 2001, p. 141.
29 Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, p. 237.
30 Ibid., p. 239.
31 Ibid., p. 239.
32 Republished in Hodgson, *Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion*, Part II, Chapter 5.
33 Ibid., p. 60.
34 Ibid., p. 61.
35 Ibid., (Hodgson's emphasis.)
36 Ibid., pp. 61–62.
37 Another example would be the paper, *On the Commerce of Nepal* (1831), republished in Hodgson, *Essays on the Language, Literature and Religion*, Part 2, Chapter 8.
38 B.H. Hodgson, 'On the Aborigines of the Sub-Himalayas', *JASB*, 1847/1848, vols 16 and 17, pp. 1235–1244; pp. 469–477, 574.
39 Ibid., pp. 1237, 1240.
40 Ibid., p. 1238.
41 This was published as a book titled *On the Aborigines of India. Essay the First: On the Kocch, Bódó, and Dhimál Tribes*, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1847; reprinted in Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, section I.
42 R.G. Latham, *Ethnology of the British Colonies and Dependencies*, London, 1851, p. 114 (quoted in Hunter, *Life*, p. 289).
43 The preface was republished separately as 'A Brief Note on Indian Ethnology', *JASB*, 1849, vol. 18, pp. 238–246.
44 Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, pp. 72, 101, 105.
45 Ibid., p. 108.
46 Ibid., p. 112.
47 Ibid., p. 114.
48 Ibid., p. 121.
49 Ibid., p. 125.
50 D.B. Bista, *The People of Nepal*, Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1980, p. 137.
51 Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, p. 125.
52 Ibid., p. 151f.
53 Ibid., p. 152.
54 Ibid., p. 72.
55 Reprinted in Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. I, section II, chapter 6.
56 Ibid., p. 397.
57 Ibid., p. 398.
58 For example, C. McDougal, *The Kulunge Rai*, Kathmandu: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1979; N.J. Allen, *Studies in the Myths and Oral Traditions of the Thulung Rai of East Nepal*, Oxford: Ph.D. thesis, 1976.
59 M. Gaenszle, *Origins and Migrations: Kinship, Mythology and Ethnic Identity among the Mewahang Rai of East Nepal*, Kathmandu: Mandala Book Point, 2000. In fact, Hodgson's 'Vocabulary of the Dialects of the Kiránti Language' (republished in Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays* (1880), vol. I, section II, chapter 2) contains a word list of the dialect spoken in the area of my field work – Báláli.
60 Republished in Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. II, section IX.
61 Ibid., p. 98.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
64 H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1891.
65 D. Ibbetson, *Panjab Castes*, Lahore: Government Printing, 1916.
66 Risley refers to the outdated 'assumption of the elder generation of philologists that affinity of language implies affinity of race'. Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, p. 16.

67 E.T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872.

68 A. Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion*, London: Routledge, 1988.

69 W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, London, 1868.

70 On the earlier notion of statistics, see P. Pels, 'From Texts to Bodies: Brian Houghton Hodgson and the Emergence of Ethnology in India', in *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia and Oceania*, J. van Bremen and A. Shimizu (eds), Richmond: Curzon, 1999, p. 68.

71 H.A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, London: W.H. Allen, 1880, vol. I, p. 167 ff.; see also P. Brown, *Picturesque Nepal*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912, p. 31.

72 S. Lévi, *Le Népal: Étude historique d'un royaume hindou*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1905, vol. I, p. 139.

73 In his monograph on customary law in Nepal, Leonhard writes: 'Unter all den Werken der älteren Periode ragen die Schriften von Brian Houghton Hodgson hervor.' Adam Leonhard, *Sitte und Recht in Nepal*, Stuttgart, Enke, 1934, p. 17.

74 E. Vansittart, 'Tribes, Clans and Castes of Nepal', *JASB*, 1894, vol. 63; E. Vansittart, *The Goorkhas*, New Delhi: Ariana Publishing House, 1980 (1890).

75 C.J. Morris, *Handbooks for the Indian Army: Gurkhas*, Delhi: Government of India, 1933; W.B. Northey and C.J. Morris, *The Gurkhas: Their Manners, Customs and Country*, London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1928, p. 153, praises Hodgson as 'a man to whom, perhaps more than anybody, our knowledge of early Nepal is due'.

76 F. Tuker, *Gorkha: The Story of the Gurkha of Nepal*, London: Constable, 1957.

77 For example, B. Pignède, *Les Gurungs, une population himalayenne du Népal*, Paris: La Haye, Mouton, 1966; McDougal, *The Kulunge Rai.*

78 For example, in his sections on the Magar and the Gurung, the Chepang, the Dhimal and Bodo (Bista, *The People of Nepal.*).

79 R. Gautam and A. Thapa-Magar, *Tribal Ethnography of Nepal*, 2 vols, Delhi: Book Faith India, 1994, is a non-academic book for the tourist market and does not give any bibliographical references. But it is clear that data provided by Hodgson, after passing through various channels, is reproduced here, along with some features of his style.

80 A. Höfer, *The Caste Hierarchy and the State in Nepal: A Study of the Muluki Ain of 1854*, Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1979, p. 164, 168; A. Michaels, 'The Pandit as Legal Adviser: rajaguru, rajapurohita and dharmadhikarin', in *The Pandit: Traditional Scholarship in India*, A. Michaels (ed.), Delhi: Manohar, 2001, p. 69.

81 Gaenszle, *Origins and Migrations*, pp. 10–11.

82 Peter Pels argues that Hodgson's ethnography moved 'from texts to bodies' in the course of his academic career (see Pels, 'From Texts to Bodies'). However, I find this a bit misleading, since Hodgson's main interest continued to be a linguistic one. Though it is true that the Prichardian theories became more influential in the second phase of his work, and so Hodgson does take more interest in physical features, for him these were clearly less interesting than the language.

83 T. Trautmann, 'The Revolution in Ethnological Time', *Man* (N.S.), 1992, vol. 27, pp. 379–397.

84 This particular expression is in fact the one used by Louis Dumont in order to characterize the tribes of India (see his famous 'For a Sociology of India', *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1957, vol. 1, p. 8). Though different in their outlook, both authors stress a historical marginalization of contemporary tribes.

85 Brown, *Picturesque Nepal*, p. 31.

86 A rough and uncritical translation was published by Iman Singh Chemjong, *Kirat-mundhum: Kirat ko ved*, Camparan: Rajendra Ram, 1961.

87 B.H. Hodgson, 'Preeminence of the Vernaculars; or, The Anglicists Answered: Being Four Letters on the Education of the People of India', in Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, vol. II, section XIV.

11

HODGSON'S TIBETO-BURMAN AND TIBETO-BURMAN TODAY

George van Driem

Brian Houghton Hodgson was a champion and influential propagator of the Turanian theory. This theory was conceived by Friedrich Max Müller, the famous German Indologist who came to England in 1846, married an English woman and settled in Oxford. Although popular in the British Isles, the Turanian theory was not well-received elsewhere, and Müller himself abandoned the idea before his death in 1900. During Hodgson's lifetime there were three competing theories about the genetic relationship of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal and northeastern India, to which Hodgson devoted so many studies. These were the Tibeto-Burman, Turanian and Indo-Chinese theories, and all three terms are found in Hodgson's linguistic essays. Familiarity with these three theories is crucial to an understanding of the conceptual framework within which Hodgson viewed language relationships and speculated about prehistory. Hodgson's work on language and ethnology cannot be divorced from thinking about race and language in his time and, in particular, from the distinction between the two made by Müller.

Turanian

Müller presented the Turanian theory in his first public paper, a lecture he delivered at the age of twenty-three in June 1847 at Oxford. In this first presentation, he had not yet coined the term 'Turanian', but he was already using the term 'Arian' as synonymous with 'Indo-Germanic'. Müller advocated the replacement of the accepted names Indo-Germanic and Indo-European by his term 'Arian' in recognition of the shared linguistic affinity of Indo-European language communities in Europe with the *Ārya* 'Aryans', the name by which the ancient Indo-Iranian peoples designated themselves. The Turanian theory of linguistic relationship divided all languages of Eurasia into just three language families, i.e. the Afroasiatic or 'Semitic', the Indo-European or 'Arian', and the rest, collectively called 'Turanian', ostensibly 'named after the descendants of Tur'. Strictly speaking Müller adopted the name of the family from

the Persian term *tūrānī* 'Turkoman' and from *Tūrān*, the Persian name for Transoxiana, particularly Turkmenistan.

Müller mooted an ancient relationship between the linguistically pre-Indo-Aryan peoples of India with the peoples of Africa, pointing out that the aboriginal tribes of the Subcontinent 'preserve together with their rude language and savage manners the uncouth type of their negro origin'. In this respect they contrasted with the 'many highly distinguished families in India' who, though ultimately likewise of 'Súdra origin', had historically been assimilated and civilized by the conquering bearers of the Aryan *Hochkultur* to the Subcontinent, with whom the ancestors of modern Indians had intermarried.[1] Müller stressed the Aryan brotherhood which united Hindu civilization and its British rulers through the affinity of their languages. His stirring rhetoric was intended as a rallying call to his British audience to show interest and respect for the Sanskrit language and for Hindu culture, which many British scholars and colonial administrators held in low esteem, if not contempt.

In fact, twenty-five years earlier, in 1823, controversy had broken out in British India about the merit of Sanskrit learning. This dispute later came to a head in the form of Macaulay's highly influential 'Minute on Indian Education' of 2 February 1835, which breathed disdain for Hindu culture and Sanskrit learning:

> It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that all the historical information which has been collected from all the books written in the Sanscrit language is less valuable than what may be found in the most paltry abridgements used at preparatory schools in England. . . . The question before us now is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own, whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy from true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy, which would move laughter in girls at an English boarding school, history abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter.[2]

The controversy was resolved by Lord Bentinck's resolution of 7 March 1835, in which it was decreed that, whilst no institutions of native learning would be abolished, 'the great object of the British government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone'. Moreover, no government funds would thereafter be employed 'on the printing of Oriental works'.[3] Like Müller,

however, Hodgson advocated education in the vernacular tongues, even though he felt that it would be appropriate that people in the Civil Service speak English.

Even in this first talk, Müller manifestly held a nuanced view. Language and race are correlated, but he appreciated that they were not correlated perfectly, nor did he equate the two. Yet many of Müller's contemporaries were accustomed to equating language and race in a simplistic fashion, as many of his listeners and readers would continue to do after they came to be charmed by the Aryan idea which he propagated. For the rest of his life, Müller seized every opportunity in his writings and public lectures to clear up the misunderstanding and combat the simplifications. Müller argued at great length and with passion against the absurd confusion of language and race in a simplistic model whereby Aryan languages were originally spoken by races with dolichocephalic skulls, Semitic languages by mesocephalic peoples and all 'Turanian' languages by brachycephalic races. Later he would also hammer these points home to audiences back in his native Germany.[4] Towards the end of his life, Müller spoke prophetically when he said:

> Who, then, would dare at present to lift up a skull and say this skull must have spoken an Aryan language, or lift up a language and say this language must have been spoken by a dolichocephalic skull? Yet, though no serious student would any longer listen to such arguments, it takes a long time before theories that were maintained for a time by serious students, and were then surrendered by them, can be completely eradicated.[5]

The Aryan *Leitmotiv* was born in Müller's first public lecture, which made a big splash in British scholarly circles. In this talk, Müller quoted Brian Hodgson on Sanskrit with approval:

> it would be difficult to characterise this language better than in the words of Brian Hodgson, who was so long resident in Nepal, 'that it is a speech, capable of giving soul to the objects of sense, and body to the abstractions of metaphysics.[6]

It is little wonder that Hodgson would be receptive to Müller's ideas. It would be far-fetched to describe their professional relationship as a mutual admiration society, but it is fair to say that the esteem and deference were reciprocated.

Müller was more than just kind to Hodgson, even about the latter's use of the term 'Tamulian' in two different, sometimes conflicting senses, one racial and the other linguistic. In a chapter entitled 'On the Turanian character of the Tamulic languages', Müller acknowledged Hodgson to be 'our highest living authority and best informant on the ethnology and phonology of the native races of India'.[7] In his discussion on 'the Arian settlers and aboriginal races of India', Müller attempted to drive home his nuanced view of linguistic

ancestry and racial lineages as distinct but often correlated phenomena. Müller drew heavily on Hodgson's work in identifying the 'aboriginal' element in Indian populations and languages. Hodgson used the term 'Tamulian', Müller observed, not only in an ethnological sense 'as the general term for all non-Arian races', but also linguistically to refer to all pre-Aryan languages of the subcontinent. Müller proposed the term 'Tamulic' for 'Tamulian' in the latter sense, and argued that all Tamulic languages were manifestly of Turanian linguistic stock.

Müller carefully distinguished between 'phonological' race in the sense of a language stock with traceable linguistic ancestors and modern linguistic descendants and 'ethnological' race in the physical or genetic sense:

> Ethnological race and phonological race are not commensurate, except in ante-historical times, or perhaps at the very dawn of history. With the migrations of tribes, their wars, their colonies, their conquests and alliances, . . . it is impossible to imagine that race and language should continue to run parallel. The physiologist should pursue his own science unconcerned about language. Let him see how far the skulls, or the hair, or the colour, or the skin of different tribes admit of classification; but to the sound of their words his ear should be as deaf as the ornithologist's to the notes of caged birds. . . . His system must not be altered to suit another system. There is a better solution both for his difficulties and for those of the phonologist than mutual compromise. The phonologist should collect his evidence, arrange his classes, divide and combine, as if no Blumenbach had ever looked at skulls, as if no Camper had measured facial angles, as if no Owen had examined the basis of the cranium. His evidence is the evidence of language, and nothing else; this he must follow, even though it be in the teeth of history, physical or political. Would he scruple to call the language of England Teutonic, and class it with the Low German dialects because the physiologist could tell him that the skull, the bodily habitat of such a language, is of a Celtic type, or because the genealogist can prove that the arms of the family conversing in this idiom are of Norman origin?[8]

In the context of South Asia, Müller pointed out that most of the racial ancestors of the Bengalis must have been of pre-Indo-Aryan ethnic stock, whereas their linguistic ancestors were undeniably Indo-Aryan, as unambiguously evinced by their language. The simple equation of Turanian language with Turanian race, and Indo-European languages with Aryan race, Müller argued, 'has led to much confusion and useless discussion'.[9] Müller had added a nuance to Hodgson's linguistic and ethnological observations and the latter's use of terms such as 'Tamulian' without ruffling so much as a feather.

Müller defined Turanian as comprising 'all languages in Asia and Europe not included under the Arian or Semitic families, with the exception of the

Chinese and its dialects'.[10] By consequence, the Turanian theory lumped together in a single all-encompassing linguistic stock numerous language families as disparate and far-flung as Altaic, Uralic, Yenisseian, Daic, Dravidian, Austroasiatic, and language isolates such as Basque and Ainu, as well as the various Palaeosiberian and Caucasian language phyla. Brian Hodgson came under the spell of the Turanian theory through Müller's enchanting writings. The Royal Asiatic Society archives in London even preserve a notice issued to Hodgson on 24 December 1855 from the Asiatic Society of Bengal Library, urging him to return an overdue book, namely Müller's 1854 *Languages of the Seat of War*, one of the first books in which the Turanian theory is expounded in detail.

Problematic was the independent status assigned to the Sinitic languages, primarily because Müller was fundamentally ignorant about Chinese. Turanian was virtually all-encompassing, yet Chinese remained the odd man out:

> The third group of languages, for we can hardly call it a family, comprises most of the remaining languages of Asia, and counts among its principal members the Tungusic, Mongolic, Turkic, Samoyedic, and Finnic, together with the languages of Siam, the Malay islands, Tibet and southern India. Lastly, the Chinese language stands by itself, as monosyllabic, the only remnant of the earliest formation of human speech.[11]

Elsewhere I have discussed the typological or 'physiological' hierarchy of language structural types prevalent in Hodgson's time.[12] Chinese had astonished Wilhelm von Humboldt with its 'scheinbare Abwesenheit aller Grammatik' in the sense that grammatical relations are primarily expressed 'durch Stellung'.[13] Subsequently, Chinese continued to represent a conundrum to language 'physiologists' throughout Europe like chevalier Bunsen, who believed that a hierarchy represented 'an uninterrupted chain of development' in 'the evolutions of the idea in time', leading from primitive or 'inorganic' languages to 'organic or formative' languages.[14] Bunsen referred to 'that wreck of the primitive language, that great monument of inorganic structure, the *Chinese*', which represents 'the most ancient of the ante-diluvian or ante-Noachian monuments of speech'.[15] Because Bunsen held that 'Chinese itself is the wreck of that primitive idiom from which all the organic (or Noachian) languages have physically descended, each representing a phasis of development', he inferred that Chinese must be most closely related to 'the least developed Turanian' tongues.[16]

The separate treatment meted out to Chinese was an important feature of the Turanian theory and a major step backward with respect to earlier scholarship. As we shall see, this ignorance about the genetic affinities of Sinitic also characterized the Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan theory, but not the older, more well-informed Tibeto-Burman theory. Hodgson's conception of 'Tibeto-Burman' was therefore quite distinct from the Tibeto-Burman theory

proper. Rather Hodgson's 'Tibeto-Burman' was a nebulous concept of language relationship from the perspective of what could be gleaned from the southern flank of the Himalayas. Hodgson's 'Tibeto-Burman' was a poorly defined cluster within the relatively undifferentiated mass of Turanian, clouded by uncertainty regarding the genetic affinity of Sinitic.

Wilhelm Schott[17] and other contemporary scholars criticized the inadequate empirical foundation of the two competing grandiose monophyletic views of all Asian languages, i.e. Turanian and Indo-Chinese. In fact, in a wonderfully worded letter to Hodgson kept at the Royal Asiatic Society in London, Schott expressed his scepticism about Turanian, but there is no evidence that Hodgson ever abandoned the Turanian theory before his death in 1894. Müller outlived Hodgson, and in his memoirs, Müller, who already no longer entertained his Turanian model, bemoaned the fact that it had remained fashionable to criticize this theory encompassing all 'allophylian, that is, non-Aryan and non-Semitic' languages 'as if it had been published last year'.[18]

Yet the Turanian idea was to outlive both Hodgson and Müller. In secondary literature, Turanian lingered on for some time after Müller's death in 1900, and various instances are to be found in later writings. For example, Joseph Longford wrote that 'the languages of both Korea and Japan are of the same Turanian family, as closely allied as are the Dutch and German or the Italian and Spanish languages'.[19] Even though Turanian soon passed into oblivion in linguistic circles, the Turanian idea has continued to flourish under various guises in Hungary, where it still lives on in queer quarters.

In 1910, a full decade after Müller's death, the *Turán Társaság* 'Turanian Society' was founded in order to study the history and culture of the Hungarians and other 'Turanian' peoples. This conservative and somewhat secretive association still operates today and reveres the Hungarian Jesuit János Sajnovics (1733–1785). Sajnovics went to northern Norway to conduct astronomical observations north of the Arctic Circle and discovered that he could understand the Lapps. His interest was piqued, and his subsequent inquiries culminated in a lecture delivered at Copenhagen and published at Trnava in 1770 entitled *Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse* 'a demonstration that the languages of the Hungarians and the Lapps are the same'.

The Uralic linguistic stock had actually been recognized and identified forty years earlier by the Swedish officer Phillip Johann von Strahlenberg,[20] and the Uralic family had already been presaged even earlier, in the many observations made by Nicolaes Witsen.[21] Yet neither Phillip von Strahlenberg nor Nicolaes Witsen were Hungarian, so neither of them made likely candidates for a Hungarian cultural hero. Moreover, Müller himself had traced back the origins of his Turanian idea to the pioneering work of Sajnovics on Uralic, though 'Finno-Ugric' or Uralic was merely one ingredient in Müller's Turanian.[22] For Hungarians the Turanian idea and the genetic affinity of their language continue to be a contentious topic, sometimes with political overtones, e.g. Marácz.[23]

Meanwhile, the term 'Turanian' or 'Turanic' has unexpectedly resurfaced as a label for neolithic and chalcolithic cultures as well as prehistoric biomes in Turkmenistan and surrounding portions of Central Asia. However, archaeologists and palaeobotanists expressly do not use the term in an ethnic or linguistic sense, and archaeologist Maurizio Tosi has aptly pointed out that the use of the term in anything but a strict archaeological sense would represent an 'ethno-linguistical contradiction'.[24]

Indo-Chinese

Another theory of genetic relationship of which Hodgson was evidently aware was Indo-Chinese. In fact, the term 'Indo-Chinese' occurs in Hodgson's writings just as surely as does 'Turanian', although he does not appear to use the terms interchangeably. In view of the pioneering state of the art at the time it is quite conceivable, upon reading Hodgson's many essays on linguistic topics, that Hodgson was just covering all bases, as it were, by showing familiarity with all competing theories regarding the genetic subgroupings of languages and peoples. The Indo-Chinese theory was very much like Turanian from the outset in being an all-encompassing view of all 'allophylian' languages of Eurasia. Unlike Turanian, however, Indo-Chinese has changed its shape many times in the course of its chequered history and still survives today under the guise of 'Sino-Tibetan'. The reason that it has continued to metamorphose is that each successive version of the theory has been shown to be false, including its current incarnation, Sino-Tibetan.

This view of languages originated with the Scottish physician and poet John Leyden.[25] Leyden was born in 1775 and took a medical degree at St Andrews. Then an influential friend of the family arranged a writership for him in India. In preparation he studied Oriental languages for several months in London. Leyden reached Madras in 1803, where he took up the post of Assistant Surgeon and took charge of Madras General Hospital. He travelled extensively in southern India, and in September 1805 sailed from Quilon (Kollam) for Penang. He returned to India in 1806 to settle in Calcutta.

During his peregrinations he studied and tried his hand at all the languages he met on the way. In a letter to Lt. Col. Richardson, Leyden lamented the fact that, whereas quite a number of Frenchmen and Dutchmen in the East were conversant in Thai, he seemed to be the only Briton[26] to have attempted to gain some familiarity with the language:

> I had an opportunity of studying Siamese but could not help feeling indignant that their [*sic*] should not be a single Britain [*sic*] acquainted with that language. Indeed my Dear Colonel I cannot think such facts honourable to the British nation.[27]

On 2 January 1807, Leyden submitted his *Plan for the Investigation of the Language, Literature, History and Antiquities of the Indo-Chinese Nations* to

Sir George Hilaro Barlow, the Governor General of India, but withdrew his application on the seventeenth of the same month. The reasons for the withdrawal of Leyden's proposal are unknown, whether personal or connected to the worsening situation in war-torn Europe and the European colonial possessions in Asia.

Leyden's work on 'Indo-Persic' lacked the profundity and erudition of the great Sanskrit scholar Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765–1837), but his work on 'Indo-Chinese' was published in *Asiatic Researches* in 1808. After the submission of his plans Leyden was elected a member of the Asiatic Society and became Professor of Hindustani at Calcutta College. Subsequently, he was also appointed judge of the twenty-four *parganās* of Calcutta. In early 1809, he became Commissioner of the Court of Requests in Calcutta, and in late 1810 was appointed Assay Master of the Mint at Calcutta.

Because of his talent as a polyglot, he was asked in 1811 to accompany the Governor General of British India, Lord Minto, to Java as a Malay interpreter during the British campaign to seize the Dutch East Indies. In 1806 the Dutch Republic had been occupied by Napoleon, who had put his brother Louis on the throne of what consequently became the Kingdom of Holland, and by 9 July 1810 the Netherlands were annexed by France. The British fleet and 10,000 troops entered the harbour of Batavia on 4 August 1811, with John Leyden on board. Yet Leyden died just a few weeks after landfall, less than a fortnight before his thirty-sixth birthday. The circumstances of Leyden's death are recounted in the *Dictionary of National Biography* in the following words:

> When the expedition halted for some days at Malacca, Leyden journeyed inland, scrutinising 'original Malays' and visiting sulphurous hot wells. Java was reached on 4 Aug., and as there was no opposition at Batavia a leisurely possession was effected. Leyden's literary zeal took him into an unventilated native library; fever supervened, and he died at Cornelis, after three day's illness, 28 Aug 1811.[28]

On 18 September, three weeks after Leyden's death, the Governor General, Jan Willem Janssens, signed the capitulation at Toentang which unconditionally surrendered the Dutch East Indies to Britain. So, for five years, the Dutch colonies in the Orient passed into the hands of the East India Company. On behalf of the Company, Thomas Stanford Bingley Raffles acted as custodian of the Dutch East Indies in the capacity of Lieutenant Governor until 10 March 1816, after which he was succeeded by John Fendall. After the defeat of Napoleon the British handed back the Dutch East Indies in a gentlemanly fashion and, on 19 August 1816, Baron Godert Alexander Gerard Philip van der Capellen took over as Governor General on behalf of King Willem I of the Netherlands.

Leyden's 'Indo-Chinese' encompassed Mon, which he called 'the *Moan* or language of Pegu', Balinese, Malay, Burmese, 'the Tai or *Siamese*' and 'the Law, or language of Laos', and Vietnamese or 'the *Anam* language of Cochin Chinese'. These 'Indo-Chinese' languages of the Asian continent shared a more

immediate genetic affinity with Chinese in Leyden's conception, but Indo-Chinese also explicitly included 'the inhabitants of the Eastern isles who are not immeadiately [*sic*] derived from the Chinese nations'.[29] In fact, Indo-Chinese encompassed all the languages spoken by 'the inhabitants of the regions which lie between India and China, and the greater part of the islanders in the eastern sea', which although 'dissimilar', according to Leyden, 'exhibit the same mixed origin'.[30]

After Leyden's death, the Indo-Chinese idea began to lead a life of its own. In 1837, the American missionary and linguist Nathan Brown used the term 'Indo-Chinese' to designate all the languages of eastern Eurasia. The fact that Brown's Indo-Chinese even included Korean and Japanese illustrates the appeal and dogged longevity of undifferentiated views in the face of more informed opinions. Engelbert Kæmpfer, the physician attached to the Dutch mission at the imperial court at Edo, had already pointed out in 1729 that Japanese was genetically unrelated to Chinese and had suggested that the Turkic languages might be the closest linguistic relatives of Japanese. In 1832, Philipp Franz Balthazar von Siebold had concluded on the basis of comparative linguistic data that the Japanese language was related to the Altaic or 'Tatar' languages and that within this family Japanese showed the greatest genetic affinity with Manchu. Later versions of Indo-Chinese excluded Japanese and Korean.

The Austroasiatic languages were recognized as constituting a separate language family by the American Baptist missionary Francis Mason in 1854, when he saw evidence for a specific genetic relationship between Mon and the Munda language Kol. This newly recognized language family was known as Mon-Khmer-Kolarian for over half a century until Wilhelm Schmidt renamed it Austroasiatic in 1906. After Austroasiatic had been removed from Indo-Chinese, German scholars such as Emile Forchhammer[31] and Ernst Kuhn[32] continued to refer to what was left of the pseudophylum by the name 'indochinesisch', and the same practice was generally observed in the Anglo-Saxon literature, e.g. Konow.[33] However, a few British scholars used the term 'Indo-Chinese' in precisely the opposite sense, to designate the very Austroasiatic or 'Mon-Khmer-Kolarian' genetic family of languages which had been extracted from the expansive pseudophlyum, e.g. Sir Richard Temple.[34] Upon reading Hodgson's ruminations about linguistic relationships, it cannot be excluded that Hodgson too might have intended the term 'Indo-Chinese' in a comparable sense, but the idea of a genetic relationship between Austroasiatic languages was quite novel in the late 1850s, and Mason's idea only reached a wider audience after it had been accepted by its first real proponent, Sir Arthur Purves Phayre.[35]

After the removal of Altaic, Austronesian and Austroasiatic languages, Indo-Chinese had been whittled down to the original Tibeto-Burman plus Daic. However, in the confused Indo-Chinese conception, the putative language family consisted of a 'Tibeto-Burman' branch (i.e. the original Tibeto-Burman minus Sinitic) and a 'Sino-Daic' branch, e.g. August Conrady,[36] Franz Nikolaus Finck.[37] There was residual uncertainty about the genetic affinity of Vietnamese, particularly amongst French scholars. André-Georges Haudricourt

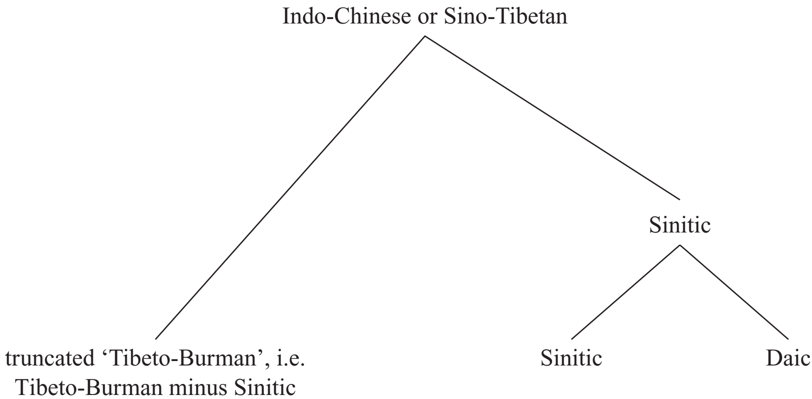


Diagram 1 The Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan theory: Diac has been excluded since the Second World War.

settled the question in 1954, and Vietnamese has been universally recognized as Austroasiatic ever since.

Indo-Chinese was renamed 'Sino-Tibétain' by Jean Przyluski in 1924, and the name entered the English language in 1931 as 'Sino-Tibetan' when Przyluski and the British scholar Gordon Hannington Luce wrote an etymological note on the 'Sino-Tibetan' root for the numeral 'hundred'. A defining feature of the Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan theory, very much at variance with Klaproth's original Tibeto-Burman theory, which we shall turn to in the next section, was that Chinese was not seen as a part of Tibeto-Burman, whilst Daic was seen as the closest relative of Chinese. In the United States, Alfred Kroeber and Robert Shafer adopted the new term 'Sino-Tibetan' for Indo-Chinese. Chinese scholars similarly adopted the term *Hàn-Zàng* 'Sino-Tibetan', the contours of which are still the same as that of Conrady's 'Indo-Chinese' and Przyluski's antiquated 'Sino-Tibetan'.

Robert Shafer soon realized that Daic did not belong in the Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan family and in 1938 'prepared a list of words showing the lack of precise phonetic and semantic correspondence' between Daic and other Indo-Chinese languages. Armed with this list Shafer travelled to France before the outbreak of the Second World War 'to convince Maspero that Daic was not Sino-Tibetan'.[38] Instead, Henri Maspero managed to convince Shafer to retain Daic within Sino-Tibetan.

When Paul Benedict moved to Berkeley in 1938 to join Kroeber's Sino-Tibetan Philology project, he likewise traded in the name Indo-Chinese for 'Sino-Tibetan'. Over a century after Klaproth had identified Daic as a linguistic stock distinct from Tibeto-Burman (including Chinese), Benedict too in 1942 ousted Daic from 'Sino-Tibetan', but he remained more resolute about this measure than Shafer. The removal of Sinitic from the 'Sino-Daic' branch of

'Sino-Tibetan' resulted in a tree model characterized by the retention of the heuristic artefact that Chinese was a separate trunk of the language family. In fact, this is now the sole remaining feature which defines Sino-Tibetan as a putative language family and distinguishes it from the Tibeto-Burman theory. For a brief spate in the 1970s, Sino-Tibetan even consisted of a Chinese branch and a Tibeto-Karen construct, which in turn was divided into a Karen branch and an even more mutilated 'Tibeto-Burman'.[39]

The tacit but always untested assumption of Sino-Tibetanists has been that all 'Tibeto-Burman' languages share unitary developments not found in Chinese and Karen. Anachronistically, great significance has continued to be ascribed to superficial criteria such as word order. Though Karen was later put back into truncated 'Tibeto-Burman', adherents of Sino-Tibetan have continued to assume the existence of as yet undemonstrated common innovations shared by all Tibeto-Burman languages other than Sinitic. In 1968, Jim Matisoff adopted the Sino-Tibetan hypothesis from his mentor Paul Benedict and has ever since been propagating this paradigm at Berkeley, where, appropriately, street merchants on Telegraph Avenue sell T-shirts exhorting Berkeley linguistics students to 'Subvert the Dominant Paradigm'.

Tibeto-Burman

The Tibeto-Burman theory is older than the Turanian and at least as old as the Indo-Chinese. Inklings of a Tibeto-Burman language family were gleaned in the eighteenth century, when western scholars observed that Tibetan was genetically related to Burmese. However, the precise contours of the Tibeto-Burman language family were first defined in Paris in 1823 by the German scholar Julius Heinrich von Klaproth, the same man who first coined the term 'Indogermanisch'. In his *Asia Polyglotta*, Klaproth defined Tibeto-Burman as the language family which comprised Burmese, Tibetan and Chinese and all languages which could be demonstrated to be genetically related to these three. He explicitly excluded Thai (i.e. Daic) as well as Vietnamese and Mon (i.e. Austroasiatic) because the comparison of lexical roots in the core vocabulary indicated that these languages were representatives of other distinct language phyla.

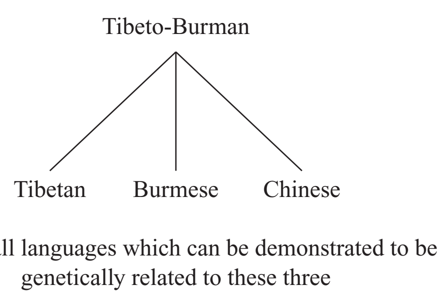


Diagram 2 One of the language families identified by Klaproth in his polyphyletic view of Asian linguistic stocks.[40]

In Klaproth's polyphyletic view, Tibeto-Burman was just a single language family within the complex ethnolinguistic patchwork of Asia which both enticed and baffled early scholars. The first trait shared by Turanians and Sino-Tibetanists, who both espoused a grandiose monophyletic view of all 'allophylian' Eurasian languages, was their ignorance about the genetic affiliation of the Sinitic languages and their bewilderment by the typology of Chinese. This seduced them into treating Chinese as something altogether distinct from Tibeto-Burman, with the result that the 'Tibeto-Burman' of Turanians and Sino-Tibetanists was not the original Tibeto-Burman shown in Diagram 2, but a truncated 'Tibeto-Burman' from which Chinese had been excised. The second trait which characterized those who espoused the Turanian or Indo-Chinese models was that this truncated 'Tibeto-Burman' soon became an ingredient in their far grander designs of linguistic relationship intended to subsume all languages spoken by what was impressionistically called the 'Mongoloid race'.

Hodgson's admiration of Müller's Turanian view and his familiarity with the Indo-Chinese idea led him too to entertain the idea of a truncated 'Tibeto-Burman', which was at variance with Klaproth's language family. In his 'Sketch of Buddhism from Bauddha writings of Nepaul', Hodgson makes deprecatory reference to Klaproth and his ally Abel Rémusat, saying that their appreciation of Buddhism was restricted by 'their limited sources of information'.[41] In this passage, Hodgson was referring either to Klaproth's 'Leben des Budd'a nach mongolische Nachricht' [*sic*], included in his *Asia Polyglotta* in 1823, or to the French translation thereof which appeared in 1824 in the *Journal Asiatique*. Hodgson must have been familiar with *Asia Polyglotta* and its polyphyletic view of Eurasian languages. Hodgson also makes sporadic reference to Klaproth's other work, e.g. Hodgson.[42] Klaproth's understanding of Buddhism may very well have lacked the profundity of Hodgson's, but the emphasis of *Asia Polyglotta* manifestly lay on languages, for first and foremost Klaproth was a linguist.

Julius Heinrich von Klaproth was born on 11 October 1783 in Berlin and died 28 August 1835 in Paris. As a young man he travelled to China in the years 1805 to 1806 and again in 1806 to 1807. He was widely read and mastered a good number of Oriental tongues. He edited the *Asiatisches Magazin* in Weimar and became a foreign associate of the Société Asiatique after its founding in 1821 in Paris. He was the first to observe that the root for 'birch', a phytonym which Sanskrit shares with other Indo-European languages, was important to an understanding of the population prehistory of the subcontinent:

> Il est digne de remarque que le bouleau s'appelle en sanscrit भूर्ज्ज *bhourtchtcha*, et que ce mot dérive de la même racine que l'allemand *birke,* l'anglais *birch* et le russe, береза (bereza), tandis que les noms des autres arbres de l'Inde ne se retrouvent pas dans les langues indo-germaniques de l'Europe. La raison en est, vraisemblablement, que les nations indo-germaniques venaient du nord, quand elles entrèrent dans l'Inde, où elles apportèrent la langue qui a servi de base au

> sanscrit, et qui a repoussé de la presqu'ile, les idiomes de la même origine que le malabar et le télinga, que ces nations, dis-je, ne trouvèrent pas dans leur nouvelle patrie les arbres qu'elles avaient connu dans l'ancienne, à l'exception du bouleau, qui croît sur le versant méridional de l'*Himâlaya*.[43]

This idea was later seized upon by the Swiss linguist Adolphe Pictet, who coined the term 'linguistic palaeontology' in his 1859 study *Les origines indo-européennes ou les aryas primitifs: Essai de paléontologie linquistique*.

As far as I have been able to trace, Klaproth was also the first to state clearly that the Formosan languages were members of the Austronesian family, genetically related to Malay and Malagasy.[44] Klaproth carefully scrutinized the lexical and grammatical data available at the time, and, following the precedents set by Nicolaes Witsen and Phillip von Strahlenberg, he was the first to be able to present an informed and comprehensive polyphyletic view of Asian languages and language families. In order to reconcile this polyphyletic view with his religious beliefs, he devised a table of correspondence between Hindu and Biblical chronology, dated 'die grosse Ausbreitung des Indo-Germanischen Völkerstammes' to a prehistoric period 'vielleicht schon vor der Noah'ischen Fluth',[45] and likewise interpreted most of the great language diversity which he observed in Eurasia as the debris of antediluvian dispersals, thus antedating the confusion of tongues ensuing upon the collapse of the Tower of Babel.

Klaproth identified and distinguished twenty-three main Asian linguistic stocks, which he knew did not yet represent an exhaustive inventory. Yet he argued for a smaller number of phyla because he recognized the genetic affinity between certain of these stocks and the distinct nature of others.[46] For example, he recognized that the Turkic, Mongolic and Tungusic languages collectively formed a family of related languages, although, unlike Philipp von Siebold, Klaproth still considered Korean and Japanese to be distinct Asian phyla. Similarly, he treated the language stocks of northeastern Eurasia each as a distinct phylum, e.g. Yukaghir, Koryak, Kamchadal, and the languages of the 'Polar-Amerikaner in Asien'. However, his biblical chronology and acceptance of the historicity of Hindu and other traditions as garbled local versions of the history recounted by the Holy Writ led him to vague notions about 'les peuplades tubétaines' in antiquity.[47]

Klaproth was the first to identify a family of languages comprising Chinese, the Burmese language of 'Awa', the language of the 'Tübeter' and related tongues, but specifically excluding Siamese, the Vietnamese language of Annam, the 'Moan' language of the 'Peguer' and so forth. Later German proponents of the Tibeto-Burman theory had precocious intuitions about Chinese historical grammar. Scholars such as Carl Richard Lepsius[48] and Wilhelm Grube[49] mooted reflexes of Tibeto-Burman historical morphology in Chinese. Lepsius even recognized that the tones of Chinese had arisen from the loss of older syllable-final segments and the loss of distinctions between older syllable-initial

segments. If Müller had been familiar with the comparative work on Chinese conducted by some of his former compatriots back on the Continent, his Turanian theory might not have accorded a separate status to Sinitic, and his and Hodgson's conception of 'Tibeto-Burman' might have been better informed and closer to Klaproth's original Tibeto-Burman family, the model to which modern scholarship has returned today.

Indeed, Klaproth's view of a polyglot Asian continent as home to many distinct language phyla was not universally well-received. In January 1825, in a letter to Baron Paul Schilling von Canstadt, for instance, August Wilhelm von Schlegel described his distaste for the polyphyletic view of Asia presented by Klaproth,[50] whereas Schlegel evidently found John Leyden's undifferentiated 'Indo-Chinese' view of Asian languages to be more palatable.[51] To scholars in Europe, the two most important language families were what was known in the nineteenth century variously as Indo-European, Indo-Germanic or Aryan, and the Semitic family, later known as Hamito-Semitic and most recently as Afroasiatic. It did not come naturally to everyone to view the many distinct linguistic stocks of Asia as language families on an equal footing with Indo-European and Afroasiatic.

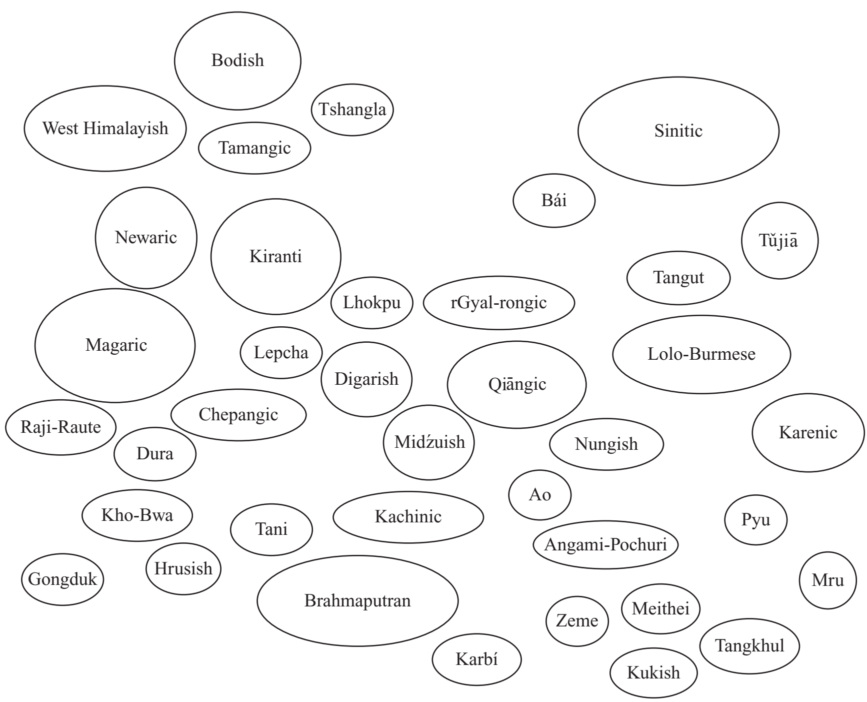


Diagram 3 This patch of leaves on the forest floor has fallen from a single tree, which we know as Tibeto-Burman.[52]

Relating to Diagram 3, we cannot see the branches of the tree, but we are beginning to see the shadows they cast between the leaves on the forest floor. This schematic geographical representation provides an informed but agnostic picture of Tibeto-Burman subgroups. The extended version of the Brahmaputran hypothesis includes Kachinic, but for the sake of argument this diagram depicts the short variant of Brahmaputran, namely excluding Kachinic. Kachinic comprises the Sak languages and the Jinghpaw dialects. Likewise, Tangut is separately depicted, although Tangut is likely to be part of Qiāngic. Digarish is Northern Mishmi, and Midźuish is Southern Mishmi, i.e. the Kaman cluster. Bái is listed as a distinct group, whereas it may form a constituent of Sinitic, albeit one heavily influenced by Lolo-Burmese. Tǔjiā is a heavily sinicized Tibeto-Burman language of indeterminate phylogenetic propinquity spoken by about three million people in an area which straddles the provinces of Sìchuān, Húběi, Húnán and Guìzhōu. The Sino-Bodic hypothesis encompasses at least the groups called Sinitic, Kiranti, Bodish, West Himalayish, rGyal-rongic, Tamangic, Tshangla and Lhokpu and possibly Lepcha. Other hypotheses, such as the inclusion of Chepang and perhaps Dura and Raji-Raute within Magaric, are discussed in my handbook.[53]

Personalities also played a role, and even the even-keeled Wilhelm von Humboldt made reference to the 'Ätzigkeit' of the brilliant Klaproth.[54] Moreover, between 1826 and 1829, the Société Asiatique in Paris was torn by feuding between the group comprising Julius von Klaproth, Abel Rémusat, Eugène Burnouf and Julius von Mohl versus the 'fleuristes' or 'philologues-poètes', led by the acrimonious Silvestre de Sacy. The lines of animosities drawn in this conflict emanated far beyond Paris. Indeed, the professional perceptions of many a scholar of Oriental languages were shaped by the constellation of likes and dislikes which existed between the linguists of the day as much as they were by substantive arguments, and arguably this is to some extent still the case in Tibeto-Burman linguistics today. However, in the nineteenth century personality conflicts also had the effect of exacerbating unstated but deeply rooted Eurocentric preconceptions and so buttressing monophyletic models, such as Turanian and Indo-Chinese, which lumped together as many languages of Eurasia as possible. Meanwhile, standard works on the languages of the Indian subcontinent treated Tibeto-Burman as an accepted, uncontroversial language family, e.g. Hunter[55] and Grierson[56] recognized Tibeto-Burman as one of the 'great stocks' of South Asia alongside Indo-European, Dravidian and Austroasiatic or 'Kolarian'.[57]

The history of science is the story of scholars living comfortably for years, and sometimes for centuries, with a paradigm or theoretical model which a new generation discovers to be false. Such a paradigm shift occurred in the 1990s when the Indo-Chinese or Sino-Tibetan paradigm was replaced by the original Tibeto-Burman theory of Julius von Klaproth. Three developments converged to yield insights heralding a return to the Tibeto-Burman language family, i.e. (1) a better understanding of Old Chinese, (2) improved insights into the genetic position of Sinitic and an appreciation of its Tibeto-Burman

character, and (3) the exhaustive identification of all the Tibeto-Burman subgroups.

The first development involved the production of better reconstructions of Old Chinese. Major advances in the historical phonology of Chinese were accompanied by new insights into Chinese historical morphology. New insights on the genetic position of Chinese vindicated Klaproth's and Lepsius' views. By the 1990s the Tibeto-Burman character of Sinitic had been amply demonstrated, and no uniquely shared innovations had been adduced which could define truncated 'Tibeto-Burman' as a separate coherent taxon that would exclude Chinese and be coordinate with Proto-Sinitic. The new face of Old Chinese was of a language with a decidedly Tibeto-Burman countenance and more closely allied with certain groups like Bodic and Kiranti. In fact, Old Chinese was seen to be less eccentric from the mainstream Tibeto-Burman point of view than, say, Gongduk or Toto. A second development is that isoglosses possibly representing lexical innovations as well as uniquely shared morphological innovations in Brahmaputran appear to indicate that a more primary bifurcation in the language family is between subgroups such as Brahmaputran and the rest of the Tibeto-Burman family whilst other lexical and grammatical features show that Sinitic is a member of a sub-branch known as Sino-Bodic.

The third development which has heralded a return to the original Tibeto-Burman theory is the exhaustive charting of Tibeto-Burman subgroups. Only recently have all the languages and language groups of the Tibeto-Burman language family been identified with the discovery in Bhutan in the 1990s of the last hitherto unreported Tibeto-Burman languages, namely Black Mountain and Gongduk. In addition to the identification of all basic subgroups, new members of already recognized subgroups have been discovered and rediscovered in Tibet, southwestern China, northeastern India and Nepal. In 1999, in an enclave around the shores of lake Ba-gsum or Brag-gsum in northern Koṅ-po rGya-mdaḥ in Tibet, French scholar Nicolas Tournadre identified the language Bag-skad [bɛ̠kɛʔ], spoken by an estimated 3,000 speakers and previously erroneously classified as a Tibetan dialect. Tournadre reports that this tongue is related to Dzala and other East Bodish languages of Bhutan. Similarly, Barām or 'Bhráhmú', a Tibeto-Burman language reported by Hodgson in the mid-nineteenth century, but thought since to have gone extinct, was rediscovered in Gorkhā district in central Nepal in the 1990s.

The basic outline of the Tibeto-Burman family is shown in Diagram 3. The model does not have the shape of a family tree, but this is not to claim that there is no *Stammbaum*. Rather, the patch of leaves is a fitting metaphor for the current state of our knowledge. The various empirically indefensible family trees have been replaced by a patch of leaves on the forest floor which are known to have fallen from the same tree. Not only is the branching pattern of the tree not within view, the constituent language subgroups of the family have only finally exhaustively been identified within the past decade. We cannot lift our heads to look at the tree because we cannot look directly into

the past, but in a careful study of the leaves strewn on the forest floor we may be able to discern the shadows of the branches of the tree. At present, we do not know the higher-order branching, but we have every reason to believe that these branches are there.

This more candid but at the same time more comprehensive view of the language family confronts scholars with the immediate need to search for and identify the evidence which could support empirically defensible higher-order subgroups within Tibeto-Burman, analogous to Italo-Celtic and Balto-Slavic in the Indo-European language family. The patch of fallen leaves on the forest floor provides a working framework of greater utility than a false tree, such as the empirically unsupported Sino-Tibetan model. The metaphor of the patch of leaves on the forest floor leaves us unencumbered by the false doctrines of the Indo-Chinese paradigm, heuristic artefacts which have survived chiefly as nothing more than truths by assertion. The burden of proof now lies squarely on the shoulders of the Turanians and Sino-Tibetanists who propagate truncated 'Tibeto-Burman' as a valid taxon to adduce evidence for their taxonomical constructs.

Hodgson as a Tibeto-Burmanist

Many languages that Hodgson documented are now gone for ever. Hodgson was able to study nearly one third of all Tibeto-Burman subgroups, as identified in Diagram 3. Yet Hodgson's studies were not limited to Tibeto-Burman languages. For example, he provided the most complete account to date of Kusunda, an important language isolate of the Himalayas, now extinct. Even Reinhard[58] and Reinhard and Toba[59] were unable to provide a more complete account. Most languages for which Hodgson collected word lists are now either extinct or endangered with imminent extinction. Even Barām, which had until recently been presumed extinct, would not have been relocated in the 1990s if it were not for Hodgson, who first reported the existence of this language under the name 'Bhráhmú' and recorded roughly where it was spoken. In short, the obsolescence of the Turanian paradigm in no way diminishes the value of Hodgson's contribution to Tibeto-Burman linguistics. In fact, the current state of the art in Tibeto-Burman linguistic phylogeny is to a great extent the result of the enduring importance of Hodgson's language documentation. Müller was right to state his debt to Hodgson for the analyzed data which he required to contemplate language stocks, linguistic prehistory and the peopling of the subcontinent. Linguists today are still indebted to Hodgson for this reason.

Hodgson was thorough and conscientious about the linguistic facts. His description of Bahing is exemplary. None who have ventured to work on Bahing since have even come close to the detail of his account. Even Michailovsky[60] was unable to improve upon it. Twelve years ago, I devoted a study to Hodgson's exhaustive treatment of the intransitive, reflexive and transitive conjugations of the Bahing verb.[61] No Kiranti biactantial verbal

agreement system has ever been attested showing as many different inflected forms as Bahing. The rigour of Hodgson's description renders the Bahing conjugational system readily analyzable within a modern morphological conceptual framework.

Not unlike other Kiranti languages, the Bahing verb contains so-called copy morphemes. In Bahing, these suffixes are anticipatory copy morphemes which occur before the tense slot and mirror overt morphemes which occur posterior to the tense slot in the same suffixal string. Hodgson was very much aware of such morphophonological regularities in the exceedingly complex verbal agreement patterns of the languages which he studied, and he even qualified the Bahing anticipatory copy morphemes as 'devious' because they are found to occur only before the Bahing tense morpheme <-ta> in the preterite of verbs with open stems.

One matter worth pursuing amongst the manuscripts carefully preserved in the archives of the Royal Asiatic Society is Hodgson's original linguistic field notes and the various drafts and manuscripts of his articles. In particular, it would be useful to compare his original notes with subsequent published versions. Not only is it conceivable that a typesetter might have failed to faithfully reproduce diacritics which were meaningless to him, a copy editor might conceivably have regularized the use of diacritics in places where this might have seemed 'appropriate'. A word of warning is in place to whomever undertakes to study Hodgson's field notes. His field notes look jumbled and scrawled. He crowds much onto a single page as if paper were in short supply. In fact, I found that his field notes looked very much like my own. My impression, therefore, is that there may be many hidden notational systems, concealed to outsiders, but not to Hodgson who would upon subsequent perusal have recognized the cues and remembered what he was thinking at the time he noted down the forms he collected.

The use of diacritics and, in particular, the acute accent in Hodgson's materials is a curious and linguistically important topic. Evidently, he did not use the accent in the way the macron is used in modern indological transcription, to distinguish vowel quality, say, between the Nepali hrasva *a* and the dīrgha *ā*. For example, the name of a twenty-eight-year-old man called पते *Pate*, whose body Hodgson meticulously inspected for the purposes of a brief statement on the physical anthropology of the Hayu tribe, is transcribed as 'Páte'.[62] This transcription seems to indicate that the acute accent represents what a speaker of a stress-timed language such as English might be inclined to hear as 'stress', even in languages having only prosodic but no phonological stress.

Stress phenomena, including pitch accent and so-called weak stress, have been reported in a number of Kiranti languages. Likewise, Hodgson often used the acute accent in Bahing, for example, on the root stem of verbs, where Kiranti languages with stress generally tend to exhibit stress. Yet, the distribution of accents in Hodgson's data, whether they denote stress or tonal phenomena, is more complex and has yet to be analyzed. Finally, in addition to forms which might have been unfaithfully reproduced in the published

versions of Hodgson's notes, there is some likelihood that some of Hodgson's valuable data were overlooked altogether and never published at all. A meticulous and patient review of all of Hodgson's linguistic notes and drafts could enhance the value of Hodgson's already colossal and enduring contribution to linguistics.

Notes

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2 Henry Sharp, *Selections from the Educational Records, Bureau of Education, India, Part 1: 1781–1839*, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1920, pp. 110–111.
3 Ibid., pp. 130–131.
4 Friedrich Max Müller, *Über die Resultate der Sprachwissenschaft, Vorlesung gehalten in der Kaiserlichen Universitæt zu Strassburg am XXIII. Mai MDCCCLXXII*, Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1872.
5 Friedrich Max Müller, *Physical Religion: The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Glasgow in 1890*, London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1891, p. 238.
6 Müller, 'On the Relation of the Bengali to the Arian and Aboriginal Languages of India', 17, pp. 319–350, especially p. 320.
7 Friedrich Max Müller, 'The Last Results of the Researches Respecting the Non-Iranian and Non-Semitic Languages of Asia and Europe, or the Turanian Family of Languages', in Christian Charles Josias Bunsen (ed.), *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History Applied to Language and Religion* (2 vols), London: Longmans, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1854, vol. I, pp. 263–486, p. 343.
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11 Friedrich Max Müller, 'Lecture on the Vedas or the Sacred Books of the Brahmans, Delivered at the Philosophical Institution, Leeds, March 1865', in *Chips from a German Workshop* (4 vols), London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1867 [1865], vol. I, pp. 1–61, p. 22.
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14 Bunsen, *Outlines of the Philosophy of Universal History*, p. 99.
15 Ibid., pp. 119, 120–121.
16 Ibid., pp. 99, 119.
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18 Friedrich Max Müller, *My Autobiography: A Fragment*, London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1901 (posthumous), p. 155.
19 Joseph H. Longford, *The Story of Korea*, London: Fisher Unwin, 1911, p. 30.
20 Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg, *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europea und Asia, in so weit das gantze Russische Reich mit Siberien und grossen Tatarey in sich begreiffet, in einer Historisch-Geographischen Beschreibung der alten und neueren Zeiten, und vielen andern unbekannten Nachrichten vorgestellet, nebst einer noch niemahls and Licht gegebenen* Tabula Polyglotta *von zwei und dreyßiglei Arten Tatarischer Völcker Sprachen und einem Kalmuckischen* Vocabulario, Stockholm: In Verlegung des Autoris, 1730.
21 Nicolaes Witsen, *Noord en Oost Tartarye, ofte Bondig Ontwerp van eenige dier Landen en Volken, welke voormaels bekent zijn geweest, beneffens verscheide tot noch toe onbekende, en meest nooit voorheen beschreven Tartersche en Nabuurige Gewesten, Landstreeken, Steden, Rivieren, en Plaetzen, in de Noorder en Oostelykste Gedeelten van Asia en Europa* (2 vols), Amsterdam: François Halma, 1692, second impression, 1705.
22 Müller, 'The Last Results of the Researches Respecting the Non-Iranian and Non-Semitic Languages of Asia and Europe, pp. 270–271.
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25 Collections of Leyden's poetry have been published posthumously by Morton (1819) and Seshadri (1912). I thank Thomas Trautmann, Director of the Institute for the Humanities at the University of Michigan, for putting me on the track of Leyden's manuscripts at the British Library and otherwise assisting me in pursuing my interest in John Leyden, an interest which Tom and I share. I also thank Donald Lopez, likewise of the University of Michigan, for sharing thoughts and references on Julius von Klaproth, although Don and I may not share the same view of the man.
26 Note, however, that Francis Buchanan had included short word lists of Khamti, Shan and Thai in his comparative vocabulary of languages of the Burmese empire (1798).
27 John Casper Leyden, *Letter to Lt. Col. Richardson with Plans of Research into the Languages and Literature of India, and Detailing the Writer's Own History and Competence for the Task*, (36-page manuscript held by the British Library, ADD. MSS. 26,565), *c.*1806, p. 34.
28 Sidney Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography, Volume XXXIII. Leighton–Lluelyn*, London: Smith, Elder and Company, 1893, p. 216. Another source upon which I drew previously for *Languages of the Himalayas* specified the place and date of Leyden's death as Molenvliet on 29 August 1811. However, Molenvliet and Meester Cornelis lie on opposite sides of the once affluent neighbourhood of Weltevreden, and it seems improbable that Leyden would have died twice and at two different locations in Batavia.
29 John Casper Leyden, *Plan for the Investigation of the Language, Literature and History of the Indo Chinese Nations*, (11-page manuscript held by the British Library, ADD. MSS 26,565), *c.*1806, p. 1.
30 John Casper Leyden, *Plan for the Investigation of the Language, literature, History and Antiquities of the Indo-Chinese Nations*, (69-page manuscript held by the British Library, ADD. MSS 26,564; later published with changes as Leyden (1808)), *c.*1806, p. 1.

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38 Robert Shafer 'Classification of the Sino-Tibetan Languages', *Word, Journal of the Linguistic Circle of New York*, 1955, 11: pp. 94–111, especially pp. 97–98.
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42 Hodgson, *Essays*, II, pp. 26, 72, 73.
43 Julius Heinrich von Klaproth, 'Réponse à quelques passages de la préface du roman chinois intitulé: Hao khieou tchhouan, traduit par M.J.F. Davis', *Journal Asiatique*, 1830, V, pp. 112–113.
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45 Ibid., p. 43.
46 von Klaproth, *Asia Polyglotta*; *Asia Polyglotta: Sprachatlas*, Paris: A. Schubart, 1823; and *Asia Polyglotta* (zweite Auflage), Paris: Verlag von Heideloff & Campe, 1831.
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50 Josef Körner (ed.), *Briefe von und an August Wilhelm Schlegel*, (2 vols), Zürich: Amalthea-Verlag, 1930, I, p. 631.
51 August Wilhelm von Schlegel, *Réflexions sur l'étude des langues asiatiques adressées à Sir James Mackintosh, suivie d'une lettre à M. Horace Hayman Wilson*, Bonn: Weber, 1832, p. 21.
52 Jackson Sun (Sūn Tiānxīn) of the Academia Sinica argues that Guìqióng, spoken in west-central Sìchuān (cf. van Driem, *Languages of the Himalayas*, p. 498), may represent a separate subgroup in its own right, whereas Sūn Hóngkāi of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences suspects that Guìqióng is a Qiāngic language heavily

influenced lexically and phonologically by its Lolo-Burmese neighbours. Conversely, Sūn Hóngkāi believes that Báimǎ, spoken in central northern Sìchuān, is a separate Tibeto-Burman subgroup in its own right, which has previously been misidentified as a Tibetan dialect, whereas Jackson Sun believes that Báimǎ can be demonstrated to be a Tibetan dialect. Sūn and Sūn agree, however, that the solutions to the controversy will only come through the detailed analysis and documentation of both languages. Only linguistic fieldwork in the tradition of Brian Houghton Hodgson, therefore, can determine whether or not the number of leaves which have fallen to the mossy forest floor from the Tibeto-Burman tree is greater than depicted in Diagram 3.

53 van Driem, *Languages of the Himalayas*, p. 498.

54 Hartmut Walravens, *Julius Klaproth (1783–1835): Leben und Werk*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1999.

55 William Wilson Hunter, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Non-Aryan Languages of India and High Asia*, London: Trübner and Company, 1868, and *The Indian Empire: Its History, People and Products*, London: Trübner and Company, 1882.

56 Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*.

57 Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, p. 79.

58 Johan G. Reinhard, 'Aperçu sur les Kusuṇḍâ, peuple chasseur du Népal', *Objets et Mondes, Revue du Musée de l'Homme*, 1969, IX (1): pp. 89–106.

59 Johan G. Reinhard and Tim Toba (i.e. Toba Sueyoshi), *A Preliminary Linguistic Analysis and Vocabulary of the Kusunda Language*, Kathmandu: Summer Institute of Linguistics (31-page typescript, Reinhard and Toba), 1970.

60 Boyd Michailovsky, 'Notes on the Kiranti Verb (East Nepal)', *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 1975, II (2): pp. 183–218.

61 George van Driem, 'Bahing and the Proto-Kiranti Verb', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 1991, LIV (2): pp. 336–356.

62 Brian Houghton Hodgson. 'Comparative Vocabulary of the Languages of the Broken Tribes of Nepál', (inc. 'Comparative Vocabulary of the Kiranti Language', and 'On the Kiránti Tribe of the Central Himalaya'), *JASB*, XXVII: pp. 393–456, especially pp. 443–446.

12

HODGSON'S LEGACY

David Waterhouse

Elsewhere in this book evaluations are made of the importance of Hodgson's life and work. To complete the exercise I identify what Hodgson left behind – the tangible products of his labours. In this chapter I try to locate the present whereabouts of the materials, manuscripts, papers and specimens that Hodgson wrote, collected and donated, including his unpublished works. These are widespread – both in Europe and South Asia.

Hodgson's papers and collections were first listed in Hunter's biography, published in 1896.[1] In the course of four appendices he gives details of all of Hodgson's published works and of the manuscripts, specimens and drawings that he was able to identify. Hunter also identifies the various institutions to which they were presented together, in some instances, with brief descriptions. The list, however, is not complete (for example the architectural drawings currently in the Royal Asiatic Society and the Musée Guimet are not mentioned). Moreover items given to various institutions by his widow after Hodgson's death are not included. Neither are Hodgson's official correspondence as Resident, or family and other letters. However, Hudson's catalogue of Hodgson's published papers is comprehensive, though there are occasional inaccuracies. I give an amended version, in chronological order, in the bibliography to this volume. On the zoological side the list of new genera and species of mammals, first described by Hodgson, has been revised in the light of more recent classifications.[2]

Collections in Europe

The Oriental and India Office department of the British Library has the largest and most significant collection of Hodgson's papers and manuscripts. Between 1838 and 1845 Hodgson deposited in the Company's library thirty important Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts and the complete Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur. The Sanskrit Manuscripts are catalogued by F.W. Thomas in *Catalogue of Sanskrit (and Prakrit) Materials in the India Office Library, vol. 2*, edited by A.B. Keith, Oxford, 1935. The Tibetan material is listed in P. Denwood, *Catalogue of Tibetan mss. and Block-prints Outside the Stein Collection in the India Office Library*, London, 1975. This collection was added to with

the deposit in 1864 of all Hodgson's remaining oriental papers and notes for his history of Nepal, and has been augmented in the twentieth century by further additions, including drawings bought at auction as recently as 1997. The core collection consists of around 100 bound volumes containing around 3,000 manuscripts in English, Nepali, Newari, Tibetan, Sanskrit, Persian and Urdu, plus a few in Nepalese Tibeto-Burman languages such as Limbu and Lepcha. They are described briefly in W.W. Hunter, Appendix B. English language materials have been described in *The Catalogue of European Manuscripts* by G.R. Kaye, pp. 1063–1098. A further list was produced by F.W. Thomas in 1927 (MSS Eur D 497) but this has now been re-arranged alphabetically under MSS Eur Hodgson. A project was started in 2003 to produce a comprehensive descriptive catalogue and to make this, together with selected documents, available on the World Wide Web. Copies of Hodgson's official correspondence with the government of India in Calcutta and the Kathmandu Residency Records are also available at the Library.

The Natural History Museum, London, has the collection of bird and mammal drawings, together with a few reptiles and fish, given by Hodgson to the British Museum. Hunter is less than clear about the numbers given to the Museum, some of which were subsequently redistributed. The Museum now has 1,319 sheets of illustrations, bound in eight volumes. Hodgson also donated the bulk of his collection of skins of mammals and birds to the Museum.[3] The bird skins are now stored at Tring, though they are said to be in a very poor state of preservation. A further collection of bird and mammal skins was received from the India Museum when it closed in 1881. The Museum also has correspondence conducted with Hodgson, mainly about his donations. Additionally it possesses a scrapbook, given by Mrs Alicia Morgan, Hodgson's sister-in-law, in 1929, which contains 167 photographs and drawings, mainly from the years in Darjeeling. There is also a small collection of ethnography specimens.

The Library of the Zoological Society of London has a collection of 1,125 sheets of bird drawings and 487 mammals, some of which it received in 1874, the remaining pictures were donated in 1883 after the bird drawings had been received from India, where they had been used by Hume in Agra. The Library also contains four boxes of manuscript letters and catalogues to and from Hodgson, mainly on Natural History issues, together with some letters from J.D. Hooker to Hodgson. The watercolours were catalogued, along with those by S.R. Tickell and C.F. Sharpe, in 1930.[4]

The Royal Asiatic Society, London, owns a set of the 'architectural drawings' commissioned by Hodgson.[5] Additionally it possesses archival material, probably the contents of Hodgson's study, presented by his widow. This has not yet been fully catalogued but consists of letters, articles, press cuttings and some manuscripts of Hodgson's linguistic papers. It also owns seventy-nine Sanskrit manuscripts donated in 1835 and 1836 and catalogued by Cowell and Eggeling.[6] A further four manuscripts were added later. The RAS archive also contains a set of Chinese prints acquired by Hodgson in Nepal.

The Bodleian Library at Oxford possesses the Sanskrit manuscripts donated by Hodgson (see W.W. Hunter) together with several volumes of correspondence, including some early letters, together with family memoirs.[7] There is also one box of photographs, most of them date from the 1880s. Unfortunately, these are not captioned.

Additionally there are a number of smaller collections of Hodgson's collected material at various locations in Britain and elsewhere. Some of these are listed on the National Register of Archives on the Historical Manuscripts Commission website. The archives of the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew contain Hooker's Indian Letters and Journal which contain extensive references to Hodgson. Hooker corresponded with Hodgson from his time in Darjeeling until Hodgson's death and there are extensive references in the Hooker archives. The Public Record Office contains correspondence with Lord Ellenborough.[8] The University Library in Cambridge contains several manuscripts collected by Hodgson, mostly copies, catalogued by Cecil Bendall.

Hodgson asked the British Museum to give surplus material from his bird and mammal collections to other museums including institutions abroad. From handwritten lists now at the Royal Asiatic Society we know that the recipients were Leiden, Frankfort, Berlin, Paris, Edinburgh, Dublin, Newcastle, Canterbury, Manchester, the Earl of Derby, H. Strickland and the Royal College of Surgeons. How many of these specimens now survive is not known but their poor condition when donated would probably render them of little interest even if they still exist. The Linnean Society was another recipient.[9] According to Hunter there was also a collection of ethnographical drawings which were donated to the Christie Collection and the London Anthropological Society but these have not been traced. There is also a group of around 400 bird drawings, now in a private collection, which were auctioned at Christies in 1997.

In France the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris possesses the manuscripts donated by Hodgson to Burnouf and to French institutions. There are twenty-four Buddhist Sanskrit works presented to the Asiatic Society of Paris in 1835 listed by Hunter[10] plus a further set of sixty-four copies of manuscripts made for Hodgson in Nepal and presented to the Society in 1837[11] as well as fifty-nine manuscripts originally given to Burnouf.[12] These works can be seen alongside Burnouf's papers, which frequently refer to the same period. The Musée Guimet in Paris contains the sets of architectural and iconographic drawings described by J.P. Losty in this book along with Sanskrit, Nepali and Newari manuscripts in explanation of them – all were originally deposited in the Institut Imperial de France in 1858.

Collections in South Asia

The Asiatic Society of Bengal owns the ninety-four Sanskrit manuscripts originally donated by Hodgson to the Society and catalogued in 1888 by Rajendra Lal Mitra in *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*. There was

an additional catalogue prepared by Hari Prasad Shrestha some thirty years later and the Asiatic Society of Bengal's own card catalogue confirms this. The Asiatic Society of Bengal also owns the manuscripts originally donated to the library of the College of Fort William.

The Indian National Archives in New Delhi contain correspondence, secret letters and reports between Hodgson and the government of India in Calcutta on official matters. These were filed as 'Foreign Secret [or Foreign Political] Consultations' in Calcutta. The copies sent to London and now in the India Office Archive of the British Library were termed 'Foreign Secret/Political Proceedings'. Included are the Nepal Residency records and the Resident's diary from 1837–1840.[13]

The West Bengal State Archives in Calcutta contain material related to Hodgson's service in Nepal. In these archives are preserved the records of several East India Company 'Supreme Authorities' of which the Board of Customs, the Board of Trade, and the Reporter of External Commerce are perhaps the most interesting. Other material of interest includes the India Office's *Copies of Political Proceedings* and the Government of Bengal's *Political Consultations and Judicial Proceedings*. It is possible that there are other archives that have information relating to Hodgson, but further investigation is needed. The K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute in Patna is one of these – it has collected research material since the 1930s.

In Kathmandu, the National Archives of Nepal contain government records and documents – the British Embassy Library also contains some relevant correspondence. There are also a surprising number of Hodgson's own copies of his books to be found in India and Nepal, often with his annotations and corrections.

Notes

1 W.W. Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, British Resident at the Court of Nepal*, London: John Murray, 1896.
2 See Datta, (Chapter 7) for details.
3 See Datta and Inskipp, (Chapter 6) for details.
4 See *Proc. Zool. Soc. London*, 1930, vol. 3.
5 For details, see Raymond Head, *Catalogue of Paintings and Drawings in the Collection of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1991; and J.P. Losty (Chapter 5).
6 *JRAS*, 1876.
7 Bodleian Library, MSS. Hodgson 9–17; MS Eng. Hist. C. 262. NRA 17019.
8 Ref. POR 30/12.
9 See G.D.R. Bridson, V.C. Philips and A.P. Harvey, *Natural History Manuscript Resources in the British Isles*, London: R.R. Bowker, 1980.
10 Hunter, *Life*, Appendix A, Section 8.
11 Hunter, *Life*, Appendix A, Section 5.
12 Hunter, *Life*, Appendix A, Section 3.
13 These are also available in London at the British Library.

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Works referred to in the endnotes of chapters of this book are only included in the bibliography if they are of general interest.

For details of where primary sources and collections can now be found see Chapter 12 in this book.

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British Museum, Dept. of Zoology, Reports, Minutes, etc., 1835–1846 (now in The Natural History Museum).

Zoological Society of London Library Archives, Notes and Correspondence with B.H. Hodgson and Original Watercolour Paintings of the Birds and Mammals of Nepal, Tibet and India, commissioned by B. H. Hodgson.

Library and archives of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

Cambridge University Library, unpublished MSS. Jardine, Selby correspondence.

Hodgson Papers and MSS., The Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Joseph Hooker's Indian Letters, Royal Botanical Gardens, Kew.

Henry Lawrence Papers, OIOC, The British Library.

National Archives of India, New Delhi. Correspondence between the Resident and the Government of India in Calcutta. These are filed as Foreign/Secret or Foreign/

Political correspondence, and are also available in the OIOC at the British Library. A number of the Foreign Secret letters have been published in lightly edited form in Stiller's *The Kot Massacre*, Wheeler's *Diary of Events in Nepal* reproduces the Resident's official diary for 1841 to 1846 and Hasrat's *The History of Nepal* includes a briefer summary of events over ten- or twelve-year periods prepared by Residency staff.

Oral tradition in Kathmandu.

Secondary sources

Works by Brian Houghton Hodgson

(Arranged chronologically with the zoological papers placed after the others.)

I attempt to provide a complete list of Hodgson's publications. This includes all of his published papers, letters and notes that it has been possible to identify. Papers are listed by the earliest date of publication when this is possible – in many cases they were written earlier. In cases where papers were published in more than one journal, the most accessible journal has been listed. Some papers were also revised when they were reprinted in the Trübner editions. Hodgson's papers are also listed in the appendices of W.W. Hunter, *Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson, British Resident at the Court of Nepal*, London: John Murray, 1896 (though there are some inaccuracies). The ornithological papers are also listed in M. Cocker and C. Inskipp, *A Himalayan Ornithologist, The Life of Brian Houghton Hodgson*, Oxford: OUP, 1988.

Collected works

Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists, Serampore, 1841.

(This contains reprints of his previously published papers on Buddhist Studies, additionally this work contains one paper not previously published '*The Pravya Vrata, or Initiatory Rites of the Buddhists according to Puja Kand*'.)

Letters on National Education for the People of India, Styled Pre-eminence of the Vernaculars, Serampore, 1837 (second edn 1847).

Papers Relevant to the Colonization, Commerce and Physical Geography of the Himalayan Mountains and Nepal, Calcutta, Government Gazette Office, 1857.

(This contains reprints of his papers on the subjects listed above, plus his paper on the Colonization of the Himalayas, together with some ethnographical papers; the book is also listed as 'Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal', vol. 27, 1857.)

Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepál and Tibet, Together with Further Papers on the Geography, Ethnology, and Commerce of Those Countries, London: Trübner, 1874 (reprints available).

(This contains the major works on Buddhism and papers on Commerce, Physical Geography, the Military Tribes of Nepal, the Chepang and Kusunda, Cursory Note on Nayakote and a paper on the tribes of Northern Tibet and Sifan.)

Miscellaneous Essays Relating to Indian Subjects, 2 vols, London: Trübner, 1880, (reprints available).

(Volume 1 contains the major paper on the Kooch, Bodo and Dhimal Tribes, together with a number of shorter linguistic and ethnographical papers – Comparative Vocabulary of the Languages of the Broken Tribes of Nepal, Vocabulary of the Dialects of the Kiranti Language, Grammatical Analysis of Vayu and Bahing, On the Vayu Tribe and On the Kiranti Tribe.)

(Volume 2 contains the remaining ethnographical papers together with the paper on the Systems of Law and Police, Routes to Pekin and Darjeeling, Papermaking and the four letters 'The Pre-Eminence of the Vernaculars'.)

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Notes: (i) BHH = Brian Houghton Hodgson
(ii) *Italicized* page numbers indicate figures/diagrams
(iii) GG = Governor-General
(iv) Chapter endnotes have not been indexed